

KÁFIRISTÁN AND ITS PEOPLE.

BY

G. S. ROBERTSON, C.S.I.,

BRITISH AGENT AT GILGIT, KASHMIR.

SECTION I.

GEOGRAPHY, DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRY, CLIMATE.

The geographical position of Káfiristán is all included between latitudes $34^{\circ} 30'$ and latitude 36° , and from about longitude 70° to longitude $71^{\circ} 30'$. The western frontier being very imperfectly known and somewhat ill-defined, it is difficult to estimate accurately the size of the country. Its greatest extent is from east to west at latitude $35^{\circ} 10'$, its greatest breadth is probably at longitude 71° . Its map area may be put down as somewhere about 5,000 square miles. Position of Káfiristán.

Its boundaries are Badakhshán on the north; the Lutkho valley of Chitrál on the north-east; Chitrál proper and lower Chitrál on the east; the Kunar valley on the south-east. The boundary on the south is Afghanistan proper, and on the west the ranges above the Nigrao and Panjsher valleys of Afghanistan. On the north, I believe, the Minján valley of Badakhshán dips down, so to speak, into the heart of Káfiristán. This valley has never been traversed by any explorer, and my own visit to it was extremely short. I base my opinion on the statements made to me by Káfirs and other natives of the neighbouring districts and on conversations with several Minjánis; also on certain deductions which seem to me not unreasonable and which will be detailed hereafter. Boundaries.

The actual extent of country I was able to explore was not very great. I traversed the whole of the Bashgul valley and many of its subsidiary valleys from end to end, and crossed from it to the top of the Minján valley of Badakhshán.

I also examined the Kunar valley and several of its feeders from Mirkani to Bailám. Finally I marched through the sacred inner valley of Káfiristán called Viron by Mahomedans and Presun by the Káfirs.

To speak generally, Káfiristán consists of an irregular series of main valleys, for the most part deep, narrow, and tortuous, into which a varying number of still deeper, narrower, and more difficult valleys, ravines, and glens pour their torrent waters. The mountain ranges which separate the main drainage valleys from one another are all of them of considerable altitude, rugged, and toilsome. Mountains and valleys.

During the winter Káfiristán is practically converted into a number of isolated communities with no means of inter-communication. Take, for example, the Bashgul valley. During the times the hills are under snow the only way to reach the Katir people, who inhabit the upper part of the district, is to travel from the Kunar Valley through the territory first of the Kám and then of the Mádugái tribe. If either of these two tribes is at war with the Katirs the latter are thus completely isolated from the rest of the world until the passes open in the spring. The inhabitants of Viron, or Presun, are similarly cut off from the surrounding tribes, for the only entrance to their country when the passes are closed is up the Péch or Kamah river, which flows into the Kunar at Chigar Serai. All the passes which lead from Badakhshán into Káfiristán appear to be over 15,000 ft. in altitude. On the Chitrál side the roads over the enclosing ranges are somewhat less elevated, but still very high, and are completely closed by snow in the winter. Isolation of the tribes in winter.

Beauty of
the scenery.

Some of the ravines up which regular roads run are of the most romantic and picturesque description, others are bare, rocky defiles. Indeed, almost every kind of mountain scenery is to be met with in Káfiristán, from silent peaks and naked ridges, snowfields and glaciers, to thickly wooded slopes echoing to the bleat of flocks, and wild vine and pomegranate thickets bordering tumultuous little streams.

Fauna and
flora.

At the lower elevation the hill sides are well covered with wild olives and evergreen oaks; very many kinds of fruit trees, walnuts, mulberries, apricots, grapes, and apples are met with near the villages or growing by the roadside, while splendid horse-chestnuts and other shady trees afford pleasant resting places from the sun in the hot months. At somewhat higher elevation, say from 5,000 to 8,000 or 9,000 ft., there are dense pine and cedar forests. They contain large numbers of magnificent trees, which even a tired-out hungry traveller cannot pass without admiration. Higher still the pines cease, the hills become bare, rocky, shaly; the juniper-cedar, and the wild rhubarb are succeeded by willows, birches, and similar trees, while still higher, say over 13,000 ft., there is no vegetation of any kind except rough grasses and mosses. Numerous wild flowers are met with at different altitudes. The rivers team with fish which no Káfir could be persuaded to eat. The people declare the fish live in dirt, and actually shudder at the idea of using them for food, as we might shudder at the idea of eating vermin. Immense numbers of "chikor," the red-legged partridge, as well as pigeons and doves, are to be seen, and large numbers of gaudy "manál" pheasants. The chief wild animals are the "markhor," which are extremely numerous, the "uriál," leopards, and bears. I do not think there are any ibex; none have ever come under my observation, nor has one ever been described to me.

Climate.

The climate of Káfiristán naturally varies with the altitude, but it is very hot in the summer months at all elevations. In high valleys such as Presungul and at Ahmed Diwána, the winter is certainly rigorous. When I was about to leave the former country a little deputation of the Presuns came to me with a request which illustrates not only their simplicity of character, but also the severity of their winters. They begged me to ask Imra (God) to make their country a little warmer. During the winter of 1890-91 at Kámdesh (elevation 6,100 ft.) there was an excessive amount of snow, but the thermometer never showed a lower temperature than 17° F. below the freezing point.

In some of the Káfir valleys the absence of wind is quite remarkable. On this account low temperatures can be borne without discomfort. In the Kunar valley, which is wet and windy in the winter, but where snow, if it falls, quickly melts, the sensation of cold is certainly greater than at Kámdesh, for instance, where the thermometer is actually much lower.

The rainfall in Káfiristán is probably greater than in Chitrál, but is insufficient for the requirements of the crops, and has to be supplemented by a somewhat elaborate irrigation system.

SECTION II.

THE KÁFIRS: ORIGIN AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Probable
early history.

It seems probable that eventually the view will be accepted that, to speak broadly, the present dominant races of Káfiristán, the Katirs, the Kám, and the Wai, are mainly descended from the old Indian population of Eastern Afghanistan who refused to embrace Islám in the 10th century, and fled for refuge from the victorious Moslems to the hilly countries of Káfiristán. There they probably found other races already settled, whom they vanquished, drove away, or enslaved, or with whom they amalgamated.

Aboriginal
races.

It is possible that part of the present slave population, also the Jazhis, and the Aroms are remnants of these ancient peoples, while the Presuns are probably also a more or less aboriginal race, who either successfully resisted the newcomers, or were driven from more fertile regions and milder altitudes to their present valley. As there is no literature nor any written character of any kind in Káfiristán, it is hardly possible to do more than guess, in an unscientific way, at the meaning of the stories related, or the traditions repeated by the people.

Native tradi-
tion.

The Kám have two versions of themselves to offer. One, proffered by what may be called the agnostics, is that the tribe originally came from the Salarzai country, and

that, beyond that fact, no one knows anything about them. The other version is that the Kám were originally Arabs; some say of the Koresh tribe, while others affirm that it is the Wai, and not the Kám, who are Koresh. The story goes that, after suffering many vicissitudes in consequence of the fighting connected with the propagation of the Mahomedan religion, the Kám found themselves at Kandahar, and after another interval, at a place called Kamich, in the Rámgul. There they warred furiously with the Wai people, but in the end were victorious, and compelled the Wai to pay them a yearly tribute of four cows and four measures of wine. The collecting of the tribute was, however, always a matter of difficulty, and at length the Kám messengers who were sent to secure it were all murdered. Soon after this it happened that the Kám were engaged at a great dance, at which they were surprised by a huge army of Wai people. A terrible fight ensued in which the Kám were successful, but at the cost of 1,000 lives. The defeated army suffered still more severely, and lost at least two-thirds of their number. It was immediately after this great fight that the Kám left Kamich, and migrated to the Bashgul Valley. The reason for this move was that the flesh of the markhor of the Kamich district was found to cause severe and fatal illnesses, and it was to obtain a better variety of markhor meat, that the Kám began to search for a new country. The tradition seems to have been altered in the telling. It looks as if the great fight at Kamich resulted in the defeat of the Kám, who had to take to flight, and find a new home for themselves in their present country. On reaching the Bashgul valley, continues the story, the Kám found it inhabited by a race called Jazhis, an aboriginal people of whom there are a few families still remaining in Ishtrat (or Gourdesh), and two households at least in the village of Pittigul. The Jazhis were driven out from their lands and homes, which were at once appropriated by the Kám. The dispersion of the vanquished was complete. None of them were made slaves, nor are the Kalash of Chitrál nor any of the surrounding natives in any way akin to their dispossessed Jazhis.

The Kám affirm that the whole of the country from the Eastern Káfiristán frontier as far as Gilgit was, in former times, inhabited by the Kalash, while the true Káfirs extended at least as far as Swat in one direction, while on either side their extent was practically boundless.

In Káfiristán tradition, the Gourdesh (Ishtrat) people are said to be partly descended from the Arom people, while the remainder are of Jazhi descent. It is related that a man from Aromgrom in Arormia made improper proposals to an Ishtrat (Jazhi) maiden, who refused to accede to his request on the ground that it was a shameful thing for a woman to have a baby before she was properly married. It was not until the man had made her a present of his dagger and solemnly promised to protect any child she might have by him, provided that it was not a girl, that the maiden's virtuous scruples were overcome. From this irregular union a boy was born who is the direct ancestor of Shermalik, the Chief of Ishtrat.

The Katirs in the Bashgul Valley informed me that they came from the west, and were once part of a numerous tribe, which divided into two parties. One division consisted of all the wealthy, and other notables, who went to London, while the other, comprising menials only, settled in Káfiristán. They warned me not to trust the Kám, or to believe them for an instant if they declared that they and I were descended from a common ancestor; for it was notorious that it was the Katirs and not the Kám who were of my race, the Kám being really akin to the Russians. This shows that the Káfirs of the Bashgul Valley know something of the sentiments with which the English and the Russians regard one another in the East.

Of the origin of the Presun, the Mádugál, the Kashtán, &c., and of the slaves, there is even less information to be collected locally; but some of the traditions related to me are of value for two reasons; they show the nature of the evidence placed at the disposal of the traveller by the Káfirs themselves, and they illustrate the crude, bald narrative which suits the present intellectual position of the people. For instance, the Mádugál tribe, according to Kám grey-beards, was created in the following peculiar circumstances. One day, long ago, the people of Kámdesh were startled by the fall of a thunderbolt from Heaven. A great noise and much fire were associated with the phenomenon, and added to the fear and bewilderment of the spectators. After a time, venturing forth from their homes, the Kám perceived seven men, two of whom were playing reed instruments to two others, who were dancing. The remaining three were busily employed in performing sacred rites to Imra. From these seven individuals, who took wives from the Katirs, the whole of the Mádugál tribe is descended.

The slaves also are accorded a semi-divine origin, as the following narrative shows. It appears that one day up in the sky, a father blacksmith said to his sons, "Bring me some fire." Just as the lad was obeying the order, there was a lightning flash and the boy fell through the slit it caused in the floor of the sky on to the earth. From this youth one portion of the slave population is derived; the remainder being the offspring of Waiguli prisoners taken in war. Of the Presun, the following account was given me. In the beginning of the world, God created a race of devils. He soon afterwards regretted having done so, but felt himself unable to destroy all those he had so recently endowed with breath. But Moni (sometimes called Mahomed by Káfirs under the impression that prophet and Mahomed are synonymous terms), grieving at the terrible state of affairs, at length obtained a sword from Imra, and permission to destroy all the devils. He killed very many, but seven, the ancestors of the Presuns of to-day, managed to escape him.

Estimate of
the evidences
of Káfir
origin.

As there are no rock inscriptions, no ancient books, nor any literature of any kind to be found in Káfiristán, and as the traditions of the people themselves give such small help in forming any opinion concerning their origin, the only hope which remains that the Káfirs may be eventually assigned their proper place in the general history of the world is from a comparative study of their language, their manners and customs, and their religious ceremonies, as well as from their cranial measurements, and other anthropometric observations. That they are made up of different races appears certain; that they have no admixture of Tartar blood seems obvious; that they came from the West, at least the great majority of them, is their own fixed idea, and is more than probable. If there may be points of resemblance between present Káfir and ancient Greek sacrificial observances, and if certain of their domestic utensils, such for instance as the Wai wooden dish-stand, may seem to be fashioned in Grecian mould, it may perhaps be conjectured that some of the Káfir tribes, at any rate, are still influenced, as the ancient Indian populations of Eastern Afghánistán were also influenced, by the Greek colonists of Alexander, and that these Káfirs, having never been under the rule of Mahomedans, may possibly represent some of the people of Eastern Afghánistán as they were before the victorious Moslem defeated and converted them to Islám. If the Káfirs really represent these peoples, the resemblance must be partial, and possibly unflattering. Civilization abruptly fell asleep centuries ago in Káfiristán, and is still dormant. A conquering race may progress in the arts and in civilization, as it progresses and excels in war-like skill. But not so an isolated people like the Káfirs. They have degenerated until their tribal headquarters are merely robbers' nests. In the various shifts and expedients to which they have been forced in order to preserve their freedom and their lives, lying, running away, and underhand devices have been particularly serviceable. In their mode of warfare no spark of chivalry is possible. The silent watcher, his face protruding from a thicket, his wild eyes glancing swiftly and fearfully around, or the lithe form wriggling like a snake along the ground to stab his sleeping enemy, man, woman or child—these are the pictures which arise in my mind when I think of Káfir braves; not because this illustrates the sole method of warfare employed, but because continued intercourse with the people and observation of their silent stealthy gait and shifty faces taught me what are the most popular methods of attack. If it were not for their splendid courage, their domestic affections, and their overpowering love of freedom, Káfirs would be a hateful people. In other respects they are what they have been made by uncontrollable circumstances. For them, the world has not grown softer as it has grown older. Its youth could not be crueller than its present maturity, but if they had been different they would have been enslaved centuries ago. Their present ideas, and all the associations of their history and their religion are simply bloodshed, assassination, and black-mailing, yet they are not savages. Some of them have the heads of philosophers and statesmen. Their features are Aryan, and their mental capabilities considerable. Their love of decoration, their carving, their architecture, all point to a time when they were higher in the human scale than they are at present. They never could be brutal savages such as are some of the African races, for example, because they are of a different type, but they are as degraded in many respects as it is possible for such types ever to become.

The physical
character-
istics of the
Káfirs.

The physique of the Káfirs is magnificent of its kind. They are lightly built men who seem to be almost always in hard training. Fat men are altogether unknown. The average height of a number of Kám Káfirs whom I measured was from 5 ft. 5½ in. to 5 ft. 6 in. The shortest was just over 5 feet, the tallest 6 ft. 1½ in. The biggest man of the tribe was 6 ft. 1 in. He was a splendid man to look at, heavily built and

of prodigious strength. As a rule, however, the men of medium height are not only the most active, the fastest runners, and the most enduring travellers, but are generally the most physically powerful as well. I have frequently noticed this when watching Káfirs "larking," and have seen how the taller men could never get away from the others in a short sharp run over the flat, nor disengage themselves from the grasp of men much shorter than themselves. Actually the four or five strongest men of the tribe are above the average height, but with this exception the rule holds good.

I once came across one old man, a Kashtán, leaning on his long matchlock, who was a striking figure. He was of splendid and colossal proportions, but with all his bigness there was a suggestion of activity about his limbs which was surprising when one noticed his grizzled locks.

Admirers of form would delight in Káfirs in their own country. They give such an impression of gracefulness and strength when once the eye has become accustomed to the vile robes they wear. As might be expected of a wild excitable people, their gestures are most dramatic. I remember always a group of malcontents leaving a meeting which was discussing me. The dissentients rose in a body and moved slowly away with flashing eyes and white faces, heads thrown back and walking clubs pointed upwards at intervals. As they kept turning back in indignant protest to cast scornful glances at their opponents, they made a fine picture. Gracefulness.

Another fine sight is to see two young men in a village quarrel try to get at one another. All bystanders throw themselves between the belligerents in the hope of securing them or keeping them apart. It then becomes more than ever a point of honour for the angry youths to strive to reach one another. In their attempts to evade the peacemakers, they dash up and down the steep village hill and over the house-tops, at times making remarkable leaps. On such occasions they fly past the spectator like a tornado; really marvellous examples of energy and graceful strength. Agility.

Káfirs have well-developed chests. Their arms are muscular but not remarkably so. There being no special exercise for bringing particular muscles into prominence, and no regular wrestling, their arms would not compare to much advantage with those of a Punjábí athlete. The arms are somewhat long and the wrists and hands rather small. The squeezing power of the fingers is as a rule not very great. The flanks, hips, and gluteal muscles are light. The legs are splendidly muscular, but not too big, and the feet are often extremely well shaped with a high instep. Strength of various parts of the body.

In their own country Káfirs have a great idea of personal dignity. An important man marches about the village in a slow dignified way, almost always attended by one or two satellites. As a rule everyone likes to have somebody of inferior rank to walk a step or two behind him. Young braves who are entitled to the distinction wrap themselves in a blue cotton shawl and stalk about or pose in a delightfully ingenuous way. Almost all Káfirs have rather a high step, as if the knee were always bent a little. This is particularly noticeable in men above the average height. Personal dignity.

In repose a Káfir is usually not seen to advantage. His clothes often obscure his proportions, and he is fond of sitting forward on his stool, his elbows on his knees and his hands grasping a walking club standing between his legs. He is generally also conscious of some ceremoniousness in paying or receiving a visit. He looks better when lounging and taking his ease on the ground with his legs stretching out before him. He cannot sit comfortably on his heels like a native of India, but prefers a stool, a plank, or a billet of wood, or else to spread out his legs straight in front of him like a European. The Káfir in repose.

On the march Káfirs travel with a quick rather short untiring step. As hillmen they cannot possibly be surpassed, their wind being as excellent as their legs and ankles are strong, while all are comparatively light weights, and not too tall. Their pluck is immense; women and boys apparently overcome with fatigue, still struggle on till they reach their destination. Káfirs can stand all temperatures. Heat does not unduly disturb them, they can sleep comfortably in severe cold in spite of their scanty clothing. They can go without food when necessary, as well as or better than probably any other race. Káfirs on the march.

Their countenances are of a distinct Aryan type, the nose, as a rule, being particularly well shaped. The Kám and the Wai contain the handsomest people I have seen, especially the Wai; the Katirs have fewer good looking men, and the Presuns are spoilt by their heavy stupid look. There are distinct gradations in type from the best-looking of the chief families to the patsas or shepherds and so down to the slaves. In the Káfir faces.

highest types the men have well shaped heads, good features, and quiet steady eyes. The cast of feature is grave, one might almost say intellectual, occasionally of a beautiful Greek type. Of the latter description I know one remarkable instance amongst the Kám young men, and one still more striking example, who, curiously enough, was a young to middle-aged Presun woman. The lowest type of face is of two different kinds. There is the bird of prey type—hooked nose, low forehead, receding chin, and quick-glancing close-set eyes. In such cases the forehead is particularly bad, being narrow and low, with the hair not unfrequently growing almost down to the eyebrows. In fact instances may be met with where the only true hairless forehead is a circular space just above the root of the nose and about the size of a florin. The other variety of the degraded type is often seen among the slaves. It has stupid or crafty, dark, rounded, somewhat heavy features, while the nose is badly shaped and coarse. The hair grows low on a narrow receding forehead as in the other type. Between the extremes of the highest and the lowest types there is every possible gradation in shape of feature, colour of skin, and size of head. The head men as a rule are the best-looking of the race, but among them are often men with rather bad foreheads and shifty glances, who at least hold their own among their fellows. The most important man of the Kám, and the chief of the Mádugál, both answer to this description. They are both extremely wealthy and are the wildest men I have met. They agree also in this particular, that both are famous warriors and the most distinguished of their tribe in that respect.

Káfir complexion.

The colour of the Káfirs is on the whole less fair than that of the upper classes in Chitrál, and less fair than many Badakhshis I have met. They do not at all approach the black races, but are equally removed from those with white skins. In tint they resemble more the average inhabitant of the Punjab. Of the various Káfir tribes, the Wai seem to be the fairest and some of the Katirs, some of the Kashtáns, and some of the Presuns the darkest. It is, however, hard to estimate properly the darkness of skin of the villagers of Pshui, for instance, for there the people use a fuel which gives forth a particularly grimy smoke, the effect of which on the Pshui men seems to be seldom or never neutralized by washing. So also with the Presuns. Living in a cold high valley they are particularly reluctant ever to wash their faces, which are often literally sooty. A Presun Káfir, taken prisoner and sold to the Khan of Lálpura, made his escape and visited me at Kámdesh. I was astonished at the comparative fairness of his complexion. A few months later, seeing him in his own home, I found him just as dark as the rest of his compatriots. He had probably not washed himself in the interval. The Presun children have often light eyes and fair hair when quite little. The Káfirs, in short, are thoroughly eastern in colour, as well as in every other respect. Red-haired, or more or less albino people are few in number, less than one per cent. of the total population.

Hair.

With very few exceptions all Káfirs wear the "karunch" or scalplock. This is formed in the following way. The whole of the head is shaved, except a round patch, some four inches in diameter over the occiput, where it is not cut at all. A tiny lock in front of each ear is often permitted to remain also. Children at the 31st or 32nd day after birth, both male and female alike, have their heads shaved. A Káfir's hair is not very long, seldom more than 12 or 14 inches, and, with very rare exceptions, is quite straight. It is usually extremely dirty and matted into ratstails. On some heads of boys the crop of hair is prodigiously thick, but that is exceptional. A few of the Bashgul Káfirs do not wear the karunch but have the hair cut short all over the head. These men can, and occasionally do, pass for Pathans on their various thieving and murdering expeditions. Káfirs who, after turning Mahomedans revert to their old religion, are said to be restrained from wearing the karunch until they have slain a Musselman in fight. This may or may not be true. The "reverts" I know all wear their hair in Pathan fashion, although one of them had assassinated the Khan of Asmár.

The Káfirs admire beards, and love to dye them red as soon as they begin to grow grey. The young men, particularly, are fond of applying antimony to the eyelids, but only a very few have the opportunity of thus ornamenting themselves.

Characteristics of the Káfir women.

The women are, as a rule, shortish and of light build with muscular limbs. Pretty faces are rare. Little girls are often decidedly good-looking, but the hard field work and constant exposure to all kinds of weather quickly darken the complexion and make it coarse. The features are often good, and their type varies precisely as it does in

the case of the men. The handsomest woman amongst the Katirs of the Bashgul Valley was a slave, but she was merely one of those exceptions which point an argument. The Wai women are the handsomest of all those I have seen; the Mádugál those with the fewest personal attractions.

The Presun women look the most powerful, but all alike are wonderful walkers and are capable of undertaking extremely long journeys, carrying loads. Old grandmothers think nothing of marching over the difficult road between Lutdeh and Kámdesh in one day. Girls with their conical baskets lightly laden trot past one on the road, or march steadily and rapidly up the steep hill paths. At a slower pace they can carry enormous loads, stones for house building, grapes for the winepress, walnuts for storing, or corn to be threshed.

Their attitudes and gestures are, for the most part, clumsy. What we call gracefulness is rare, although it is common enough in young men and lads. The little girls, from their earliest days, run wild, and climb and practise gymnastics, just as boys do in other countries. A boy comes to a stranger to be petted, a girl goes into shy contortions at a distance, or climbs trees or the wooden framework of the dance houses. Women also climb trees with facility. I have passed under a large mulberry tree, and found it tenanted with matronly figures, literally grazing on the fruit. It is astounding how big and old-looking many of the Presun girls are before they attain the cap which marks maturity.

All Káfir women roll the hair up, and confine it in some sort of cap. Girls confine their locks with a double thread round the brows. Most female heads, like most female faces, are appalling dirty. The teeth are perhaps the best feature of the women. Their gait seems to depend for gracefulness on the length of their garments, the less encumbered Kám women taking longish, more or less manly strides, while the Presun women take much shorter and quicker steps.

The appearance of both men and women is often spoilt by small-pox and its results, and by a terrible ulceration, which frequently eats away the bridge of the nose, the cheeks, or the lower eyelids; also in the Bashgul Valley, by goitre, which seems to be almost exclusively confined to women. Diseases.

As the result of very many observations of an unscientific kind, I could never discover that the Káfirs displayed any superiority to other races in quickness of eye, certainty of hearing, or skill in aiming with weapons. My eyesight always proved as good as theirs, although they could always see markhor on a hill-side long before I could. They are good throwers and good swimmers, and play skilfully games requiring a good eye and a good wrist. They never fail, when slaughtering cattle with their narrow axes; the cut through the neck vertebræ which fells and paralyses the beast, is never bungled. Their most remarkable physical characteristics are their activity and their powers of endurance. In these two qualities combined they far surpass any other people with which I am acquainted. General estimate.

They are, moreover, wonderfully good at "locality," in remembering places and roads they have only once visited and travelled over. I have sometimes in winding valleys, many miles distant from the village, asked a Káfir in what direction Kámdesh was. He has always correctly indicated the proper position without a moment's hesitation. This faculty is almost an instinct, and has been perfected by heredity. In their raiding expeditions, when small parties set out with the object of secretly penetrating into an enemy's country and attacking people unawares, the only hope the raiders have of getting away after a murder has revealed their presence in the district, lies in their fleetness of foot and in this instinct for locality. "Locality."

The Káfirs, at least the younger men, have the enviable faculty of being able to sleep at pleasure. Two or three of them accompanied me on one occasion to Kila Drosh, where we were the guests of the Governor. As there was nothing for the Káfirs to do, and as it was not advisable for them to be too much in evidence outside the fort, they slept nearly continuously for two whole days and nights. Another time, at the end of a march, three Káfir youths with me noticed a blanket which my Pathan servant had cast aside while he was settling the camp. They pounced upon the blanket in great glee, carried it out of sight behind a rock, spread it on the ground, and in an instant were sound asleep. My servant, hunting for his property, found the little sleeping party, roused up the boys, and took away his blanket. The Káfirs were wide awake in an instant, and merely grumbled a little at the Pathan's selfishness. Power of sleep.

When we crossed the Mandál Pass, owing to our late start and the consequent heat of the sun our journey was most trying for all but the Káfirs. They used to race on ahead, occasionally singing, dancing, and twirling their axes. They would then throw themselves down on the snow to wait until we reached them. We invariably, when we got up to the place, found them sound asleep.

SECTION III.

KÁFIR CHARACTER.

Intrigue.

The Káfirs are by no means simple in character; they can intrigue, concoct plots, and then carry them out with the secrecy and tenacity of the average Oriental. On one occasion a head man of Kámdesh went on a visit to the Amír of Kabul. On his way home, while journeying up the Kunar Valley, he was waylaid by some followers of the fanatical priest of Dír, and murdered. The man who actually dealt the fatal blow was a Káfir who had embraced Islám. He escaped to Dír, and lived there under the protection of its powerful priest. The head men of Kámdesh consulted together how the murder should be avenged. Eventually they decided on a plan which will show the persistency with which a Káfir can carry out, at times, a settled resolve. They employed a man to go to Dír to declare himself a convert to Mahomedanism, and to become a follower and avowed disciple of the fanatic who is the head of the Musselman religion at that place. Their emissary remained at Dír for more than two years before he could, under the veil of friendship and a common religion, induce the murderer to pay a stealthy visit to Káfiristán, where, of course, he was at once seized and killed, as had been arranged.

Intellect of Káfir.

The mental powers of Káfirs are often considerable. Many of the head men have intellectual looking faces, and are possessed of intelligence, judgment, and considerable mental energy, but the intense conservatism of the elder men, the result of inherited tendency, the isolated nature of their experience, and their not unjustifiable belief in their own astuteness, make them distrustful of new ideas. They nevertheless thoroughly appreciate the value of rifles, pistols, and other arms which they do not themselves possess. They have also a considerable respect for the higher civilization of their Musselman neighbours, and have as exaggerated an idea of their learning as they have of the destructiveness of Western firearms. All Káfirs have a real admiration for their own customs, nearly all of which they consider perfect. If more efficient expedients are pointed out to them, and suggestions made about changes, they reply "But this is our custom," which is with them a conclusive argument.

Their mental acuteness and strength of memory are considerable. The following are illustrations:—As already explained I took a Káfir to India with me in 1889. He was of poor family, and of a somewhat degraded type. When we returned together to Káfiristán, among other presents I handed over to him some 280 Indian rupees. He begged that I would give him the equivalent in Kabul rupees. The Kabul rupee was then worth $12\frac{1}{2}$ annas against the 16 annas' value of the Indian rupee. I carefully calculated out the number of Kabul coins he was entitled to, and handed them to him. He objected, saying that my calculation was wrong. We had an elaborate argument, I appealing to my figures, and he appealing to his fingers and toes, which he used to represent scores of rupees. In the end he convinced me that he was right and I was wrong. This man was certainly not above the average of Káfir intellect, and he never could explain to me the means by which he arrived at the correct number of Kabul rupees he was entitled to. On another occasion I had forgotten the arrangement of a certain puzzle lock. I mentioned my dilemma to a certain friend of mine, a man who was solely remarkable for his splendid courage and his numerous homicides. He took my puzzle lock in his hand and sat playing with it until he actually found out how to open it, nor did he ever afterwards forget the arrangement of letters by which the feat could be accomplished. Yet this man had never in his life seen a printed letter until I showed him those on the puzzle lock. As a third example of their cleverness in certain respects, I was one day showing the High Priest a small conjuring trick, the principle of which, though simple enough, I should have taken a long time to discover myself. I had a double tin funnel which, when the thumb was placed over the narrow orifice, allowed the fluid poured into it to rise up into a middle chamber, where it could be retained or set free at will by the movement of a finger on an air-hole. The trick consisted in filling the funnel, including the second chamber, with wine, which was apparently allowed to flow away. Water was then run through

the funnel, which was shown to the people as empty. Finally, the finger being slipped off the air-hole, the wine was allowed to escape from the middle chamber, and the spectators were expected to be mightily mystified. When I showed this little toy to the priest, and tried to mystify him in the usual way, he sat down thoughtfully for a few minutes, and then looking up, remarked he understood all about it. And so he did. He had thought it all out quietly in a few minutes.

The memory of the Káfirs for places that have been visited is remarkable. I have already referred to this in another place. Káfirs are most curious and inquisitive. They long to finger the garment of a stranger and examine him minutely. On my first visit to Káfiristán, before we had come to an understanding on the subject, it was difficult to perform my ablutions except when it was dark. Subsequently the curiosity of the elders could be kept within bounds, but that of the children could only be combated successfully by driving them away and treating them sternly. They were very curious about the wonders I told them of my own native land, the size of London, the carrying power of a big ship, and particularly about Her Majesty the Queen. The head men on one occasion asked me how it was that such a wonderful nation as I belonged to, could submit to be governed by a "jukor" (a woman). I replied that in the first place they must not speak of my Sovereign as a jukor and told them the Persian designation of the Queen. This impressed them very greatly as was intended. I then remarked that rulers of great kingdoms were in the hand of Imra, and added that it was a small matter for him to bestow wisdom and justice quite irrespective of sex. To this they agreed.

Inquisitive-
ness.

Among the most striking mental peculiarities of Káfirs are their extreme cupidity, their extraordinary jealousy of one another, and the intensity of their intertribal hatred. Their cupidity is indeed a wonderful sight to see. A Káfir will come into your house or tent, sit down on a stool, and talk quietly until he begins to cast his eyes round the place. You may then notice in many cases that the man's eyes half close, his face flushes, and his whole demeanour becomes a striking example of extreme covetousness. Káfirs are always ready to starve the belly for the sake of gain. They are remarkably avaricious. Their jealousy of one another is so great that they are often ready to break out into murderous quarrels on the mere suspicion that an English traveller like myself was giving away presents with partiality.

Jealousy and
cupidity.

Their inter-tribal hatred is so intense that it often entirely deadens their political foresight. A tribe is always ready to beg the help of its most inveterate Mahomedan enemy during a temporary peace, and introduce him into its territory in order to help in the chastisement of some other Káfir tribe.

Inter-tribal
hatreds.

Káfirs are very fond of blackmailing, and seem to prefer to try and attain their ends by threats even when other methods are obviously more promising in their results. The Ashruth and Damir Valleys and the Kunar district, as far down as Sou at any rate, are favourite hunting grounds for the Bashgul Valley Káfirs. In those districts almost every villager is a "brother" to some Káfir. This means that he is more or less protected from the exactions of other Káfirs, and in return supplies his "brother" with food and lodging whenever called upon to do so. In times of peace a traveller of any importance on his way from Asmár to Chitrál generally finds it expedient to get a Káfir to escort him up the dangerous part of the Kunar Valley. While I was at Kámdesh the Amír of Kabul released a number of Chitráli slaves, gave them handsome presents, and dismissed them to their native country. The instant news of this event was brought many Káfirs raced down the valley as far as they dared go, to intercept the Chitrális, go through the ceremony of brotherhood with them, and then escort them up the valley. The man who made the most profit by this transaction was greatly envied and admired by his fellows, and on his return to Kámdesh related to me with proper pride how he had outrun the famous old Káfir Torag Merik, and subsequently successfully resisted the latter's insidious attempt to get a share of the spoil. After bidding goodbye to the victim, from whom he had received a horse, a valuable coat, and many rupees, the Káfir a few days later started for Chitrál with a small cheese as his return present for his "brother," and in the hope of coaxing something more from him, but this attempt was a failure, for a Chitráli on sure ground is quite a match for most Káfirs. Into such a habit of threatening do Káfirs fall, that I have heard a man threaten God. The individual referred to had a little son grievously ill, and likely to die. Talking to me about the child's condition he spoke of the feasts he had given in Imra's name and the sacrifices he had made in his honour. "Yet," he complained, "I have lost twelve sons by sickness." Then he shouted out, "If this little one dies I shall turn Mahomedan." The child did die eventually, but the father did not change his faith, though like the French King he ever

Black-
mailing.

afterwards thought that God had behaved ungratefully, after all that had been done for him.

Lying.

The Káfirs are very untruthful. A successful lie excites their admiration, and a plausible liar is to them a sensible, sagacious man. Their want of veracity is most striking on first acquaintance, for they, like so many other wild or savage people, evidently hold the belief that telling the truth, merely because it is the truth, must necessarily be harmful to them. Other reasons which make them untruthful are their boastfulness and love of admiration. These three causes taken together made them weave tissues of lies around me, some of which I did not detect until several months had passed, while others have probably remained undetected by me to the present day. To prevent my starting on some particular journey almost the whole village of Kámdesh must have entered into a conspiracy to give me false accounts of the dangers to be encountered, on more than one occasion. The knowledge of such facts as these make it sometimes most difficult for a stranger to decide on his line of action. For instance, on one occasion, believing the people were adopting their usual tactics in dissuading me from a particular journey by exaggerating its difficulties and dangers, I started, regardless of their protests, and then discovered that in that particular instance they had spoken truthfully.

Love of admiration and credit.

Their love of admiration and their desire to stand well in the estimation of their fellows give to public opinion an almost irresistible force. When a Káfir finds himself more or less isolated in his views on some particular question, he seems at once to grow distrustful of himself, and unless he have some sort of following, will cease to argue the point altogether, and will sit shamefaced and silent in council. This characteristic of Káfirs seems to be quite apart from their natural and well grounded fear of contumaciously opposing the wishes of a majority, which has indeed very forcible methods of making its opinions respected. A Káfir, wild and independent as he appears at first sight, has a strange reluctance to act on his own responsibility on any important doubtful question. He loves to go off with his fellows and noisily discuss what should be done. With a single Káfir it is easy to do as you please, provided that you do not transgress his unwritten code of manners or run athwart his natural customs. He will probably prove a pleasant and helpful companion. So also will Káfir boys. But if you have a party consisting of several men to deal with, it is necessary to be continually on your guard against little schemes and plots to your detriment. One or other of the men is certain to be always trying to originate some plan by which, at your expense, he may pose as a kind of public benefactor to his friends and excite their admiration for his astuteness. It is not only to get money that these little conspiracies are hatched. It is just as likely as not that their object is to take you off the road you want to travel in order that the Káfirs may visit some place where they have friends or to save them crossing a pass or journeying in a direction they have no interest in. Káfirs love to talk, to give or receive advice. The giver of advice is always in a more or less dignified position, while the listener is certain to be flattered, unless the conference is to end in a row.

Love of freedom.

Within the limits which their custom provides, Káfirs love personal freedom. Theoretically, every man acts on the impulse of his own wishes. He changes his mind whenever he thinks fit to do so. He walks into a house and sits down and gets up and goes away just as he pleases. If he undertakes to accompany you on a journey, he thinks nothing of breaking his promise. He generally offers some slight obviously untrue excuse, which must be taken as it is meant. It is merely a form of politeness. Little boys go off to visit distant friends and relations without a word of warning to their own people. Women also to a less extent, and when not at work, wander over all the districts it is safe for them to travel in.

Personal dignity.

One of the greatest surprises in store for a traveller who has only seen Káfirs out of their own country is to observe their wonderful sense of personal dignity. Men of any importance march about their villages in a slow imposing manner, almost invariably followed by one or more companions of lower degree. Those entitled to wear blue shawls stalk about wrapped up in these garments, or pose in the most picturesque way. When the Jast are attired for the dance, their solemn manner and proud bearing are remarkable. In spite of the frequently grotesque nature of their dress, they are not in the least comical, but distinctly impressive. At all religious ceremonies and sacrifices, even in their games, they strike the onlooker as both merry and self-respecting. Men capering at a funeral while the tears run down their cheeks are only fantastic. Odd they undoubtedly appear to a stranger, and intensely interesting, but they are rarely or never the cause of derisive laughter.

Politeness.

A Káfir in his own way is a model of politeness. He gives precedence to a superior, and unaffectedly takes his own proper position. On a march the most important in-

dividual usually leads the party, all in Indian file. Everybody gives way to the High Priest. In a crowded assembly in-doors, the advent of an important man like the Debilála, for instance, would be announced by everyone rising and saying, "Here also is Arakon," or whatever the man's name was.

On the road everyone met receives a salutation—formal and kindly. A man travelling up the valley would be asked "Have you come from below?" He would answer "Yes," and ask a similar question in his turn. When parting they would bid each other goodbye. If they had sat down to talk the man leaving would use a particular form of address, and not merely say goodbye, but give the equivalent of "Goodbye, please do not rise." An acquaintance on the road would be greeted heartily. His hand would be held while he was asked "Is it well, is it very well, are the people of your house well?" and after these formal inquiries many kindly questions would follow. At a meal by the roadside a portion or portions of the food would be offered to anyone, man or woman, coming along the road. It would be at once politely declined on the ground that it could not be spared. It would then be pressed on the wayfarer and accepted.

There are regular forms to be gone through on arriving at a strange village in the Bashgul Valley. At the village of Oulagul I arrived one day wet through and tired. We all knew with whom we were to take shelter, but at a hint from my Kám companion we all went into a stable and sat humbly on top of our loads. This gave our host time to clear out a room and make proper arrangements for our reception. He finally came down the terraced houses and invited us to climb up to his abode. On another occasion at Bagalgrom in somewhat similar circumstances we sat in a row on a plank on the opposite side of the river and my companions produced food and began to eat it ostentatiously, as though that were our camping place. We were then invited to a half-finished house, very leaky. Finally, the redoubtable Bahdur himself appeared and escorted us to his house with great ceremony.

Reception of
visitors.

In making visits of this kind it is etiquette to entertain the guest, not only with meat, drink, and firing, but also with conversation. A circle is formed round the fire, everyone seated on a stool. The host leads the conversation, which usually is about nothing in particular, and everyone has the bearing of a man who feels he is giving and receiving honour by his presence. As far as I was ever able to determine, the company, with the help of relays, would have sat in this dignified but sociable way in the room all night, while my host was always anxious to sleep in the same apartment with me. In the cold weather, after being entertained for an hour or two, I used to beg that the fire might be put out on account of the pain its smoke caused in my eyes, and that windows and doors might be kept open for the same reason. This always made the company ready to fall in with my suggestion that it should adjourn to some other apartment.

In spite of their avarice, which in some instances almost amounts to a mental disease, Káfirs are most hospitable. No man, however reluctant to expend his supplies in entertaining guests, dare break the unalterable laws on the subject. The only exception to this rule is in the Presungul, where the people are so plundered and bullied by visitors from other tribes that they try to evade the sacred rites of hospitality in every possible way, and are in consequence generally despised. Among other Káfirs the expenditure on food supplies in entertaining guests must be very great. I was particularly struck with the kindness and readiness with which visitors were received and fed in the upper part of the Bashgul Valley. At my first visit to any village a sheep was killed for me as an offering from the whole community. At subsequent visits particular men received me in turn and provided food. It was known that the reward would be liberal, so the chief men decided who were to be my hosts; but for my first visit no payments were taken. I once sat down for a chat at Badamuk village on my way to Lutdeh. My whole party had been lavishly entertained at Purstám a short time before, but in spite of my protests a goat was immediately killed, and all my followers were regaled, while the question of payment was waived aside, the villagers declaring that they were honoured in being allowed to entertain us. As a rule, the Kám hospitality was of a very different kind. Their system was once explained to me. I was told that visitors from non-Káfir countries were always entertained well, for it was obvious that the guest on leaving, could not for very shame refrain from giving a present exceeding in value the food he had received. My experience was that the longer I remained in Káfiristán the more difficult it became to get supplies, even at exorbitant rates, but I have no doubt that to feed my following, limited in number as it was, must have been a considerable strain on the resources of a small household, while a village as a whole could seldom or never be treated with. Káfirs among themselves, both by nature and of necessity, are most hospitable.

Hospitality.

Family affection.

Family affection in Káfiristán is very strong. Some tribes are in the habit of selling little girls, and money will tempt some men even to sell children who are nearly related to them. As a rule it is the offspring of the slaves that they dispose of so readily. Boys are rarely sold in this way, but little girls are often looked upon as goods and chattels. Men of good family in the Bashgul Valley would not sell female relations other than the children of slaves, except to men of exalted station like the Mehtar or the princes of Chitrál. In spite of these sales Káfirs are very kindly in their family relationships. I have known a man tend a poor crippled brother, an epileptic, with the affectionate consideration of a woman; and have observed innumerable instances of devoted affection on the part of men for their brothers, their children and their relatives generally. A Káfir's delight in a son is very great. He is fond of his old parents and of his relatives by marriage and is obviously of an affectionate disposition.

Kindness to children and animals.

He is kindly to all children, but would probably think it indecent to show affection for little girls of say 10 years old. He makes jokes about them to their disadvantage as if they were young women.

Káfirs are never rough and cruel to animals. They do not care much for dogs, though they employ them for hunting and as watch-dogs. Goats are treated as if they were domestic animals, and are quite used to being petted and handled. The animals attach themselves to the people. A common sight is to see a goat licking a man or boy. The man seems to like it; the goat certainly does, probably for the sake of the salt contained in the sweat. If a flock of goats is wandering away in a forest or on the hill-side the herdsman throws stones at them and abuses them to bring them back. He would rarely think it necessary to run round and head them back. Goats follow little boys about in an amusingly affectionate way. Once a boy accompanied by a goat came to my camp. The boy went to sleep while the goat went trespassing into a neighbouring field of young corn. The boy was roused up. He threw a fragment of granite at the goat which immediately ran to him, bleating loudly. Then the boy went to sleep again and the goat remained by him until he awoke, a long time afterwards. Of course the Káfirs do not show the slightest reluctance to kill their petted animals. Bulls and cows are so accustomed to being handled that no ropes are required to hold them when they are about to be sacrificed. A man takes hold of the horns and depresses the head, when a second man with a blow of a small axe divides the cervical spine. The kindness with which the Káfirs treat animals at any rate saves them some trouble in slaughtering.

Káfirs not cruel.

Although a Káfir thinks it a virtue, and in accordance with religion to kill Musselmans, and gives himself the benefit of any doubt about their being enemies; although in his raids into hostile territory, whether Káfir or Mahomedan, he spares neither women nor children; although he holds human life as of very little account, and although in hunting he may appear to employ brutal methods of getting game, he is not a cruel man by nature. To anyone who considers how wild he is, his comparative freedom from brutality is astonishing.

Bravery.

Káfirs are wonderfully brave. Little parties of two or three will stealthily penetrate many miles into an enemy's country where they would be at once killed if caught. They will creep into forts and villages during the night, stab right and left, and then fly to their own hills with a hue and cry after them. In view of the inferior nature of their weapons they achieve wonders. The extreme difficulties which the country presents to an invader has, no doubt, much to do with their being able to maintain their independence; but the chief reason, after all, is the gallantry, the reckless bravery, and devotion with which the Káfirs defend themselves, or carry any war into the enemy's country. It is curious to notice the almost superstitious fear the Káfirs have of rifles, a feeling generated by ignorance. On one occasion a successful raiding party on its way home was crowded round me on a hill slope. There were about a hundred men present. To amuse them I opened the breech of my express rifle. The instant I did so many of them dived down the hill side from abject fear of what was about to happen. Again, at the capture of Nilt fort I had six Káfirs with me. The Hunza-Nagar force had a good many rifles with them, and the fire utterly demoralised the Káfirs. They became so unhappy then and subsequently, that a few days later I sent them all back to Gilgit to await there my return when the expedition was over.

Loyalty and self-sacrifice.

Káfirs are splendidly loyal to one another, and are accustomed to acts of self sacrifice. Two youths were killed on one occasion, while I was in Káfiristán. One of them was badly hurt, and could not possibly have got away from the enemy, but the other, a magnificent mountaineer, was killed, simply because he refused to run off by himself and abandon his companion. The High Priest once went on a killing expedition

accompanied by one other man, Chandlu Astán. They killed six sleeping people in a Bajour village, and then raced back to Káfiristán with a crowd of avenging Pathans behind them. The priest twisted his ankle, and sank helpless on the ground. He implored and at last threatened Chandlu Astán with his dagger in the hope of making him go on alone and save himself. The other, however, refused to leave his friend. He managed to hide him up, pulled away at his foot until the ankle became straight again, and eventually got him to the wooded hills, and so safe to Kámdesh, although dozens of enemies must have been searching all round the place where the two men lay concealed.

Káfirs are very quarrelsome among themselves. It is absolutely necessary for a man to take a quarrel up on the instant, to assert his manhood. I have never been at any gathering of Kám or Katir men without seeing one or two rows. Hardly a day passes without some disturbance somewhere, due to this cause. Quarrel-someness.

But if quarrelling is a manly thing, peace-making is a sacred virtue. Men, boys, even dogs, are separated at the first indication of a probable fight. The Káfirs are so extremely quick in their movements that an instantaneous quarrel is followed by a lightning-like onslaught, and so one or other of the combatants often gets more or less hurt; but there is never time for a second blow. The fighters are at once seized, hurled aside and separated, or thrown down and literally sat upon by the bystanders. Any one who did not lend a hand in stopping a village fight would be looked upon, and would consider himself, as mean and unworthy. Peace-making.

There is nothing like religious intolerance among the Káfirs. There would be something of that nature in Presungul if the people there were braver. They have the desire but not the power to be intolerant. Other Káfirs think nothing of a man going away in the sulks for a year or two and becoming a Musselman. He generally reverts after a time, but many families of Bashgul Káfirs have Mahomedan relations settled in the Lutkho Valley, or Chitrál, or in the Kunar Valley. They treat these renegades in every way as if they had never changed their religion. The Káfir is always loyal to his blood. Close by Kámdesh there are two settlements or hamlets, Agatsi and Agarú. They are both at the foot of the Kámdesh hill, although some distance apart. These hamlets are inhabited by Mahomedan converts, Agatsi by members of the Bilezhedári clan, and Agarú by members of the Utahdári clan. The latter are thorough rascals and thieves. They are denounced by Utah, the High Priest, himself, and are cordially disliked by the Kámdesh folk. Nevertheless, they are as safe in their houses as they can well be. To attack and kill anyone of them would bring the whole Utahdári clan on the head of the assailant. It is blood and race that the Káfir clings to; about religion he is comparatively indifferent. If a Káfir slave-boy, sold out of his tribe by its members, were executed, say for murder, in Chitrál, he would be avenged by his tribe. Religious tolerance.

Káfirs are extremely sociable, as I have already indicated. They have some sense of quiet humour. Their badinage with women is of course obscene, and most of their jokes have the same flavour, but they are greatly amused at ironical remarks, and also at anything, however simple, in the nature of repartee. A man, for instance, came grumblingly and half angrily to me on one occasion to complain that the medicine he had received for a sore tongue had done him no good and that his tongue was very bad. He seemed to infer that I was responsible for his tongue being painful, and spoke rudely to me. I merely replied that his tongue must be bad indeed to cause him to speak to me in such a manner. He and the bystanders alike seemed to think this a very good joke, and good feeling was at once restored. Women, of course, are an endless theme of small witticisms. Káfirs never give way to fits or shouts of laughter, but occasionally beam with geniality and cheerfulness. In making little jokes I was careful that they should be of a kindly sort, and by always assuming an expression of facetiousness left no doubt in the minds of my hearers that a joke was intended. My "son" Shermalik, and one or two others who knew me well, used to laugh in advance when they saw the expression, and before they heard what there was to laugh at. It always showed the Káfirs that I was in a pleasant humour, and gave them the opportunity of displaying their politeness. There are not a few Káfirs whose conversation, at present principally referring to the sexual relationship, displays an intense curiosity which may perhaps be the germ of scientific speculation. Sociability and humour.

It is as natural for a Káfir to thief as it is for him to eat. The children are encouraged to steal. If anything is stolen, traced and finally returned, the excuse always made is that it was carried off by boys. My maximum and minimum thermometers, dry and wet bulb, and other meteorological instruments were all taken away and destroyed by little boys, the first time they were set up. The villagers thought it was only natural. There was one boy about 16 years old who was really attached to me, Thievish instincts.

but he could never resist an opportunity of pilfering. He always had to make restitution, but it did not cure him. While we were in the Kunar Valley this boy stole a kid from his own particular friend and carried it for miles inside his shirt without anyone knowing of the theft until the rightful owner, suspicious of his friend, caught us up and recovered his property. In short, Káfirs are born thieves. Little girls are accomplished pilferers. I watched once two innocent-faced little girls persuade a Minján trader to show them a comb. The instant it was in their hands they threw it on to a neighbouring housetop to which the Minjáni could not climb, but could only reach it by a round-about road, while the girls went straight up the difficult walls like monkeys. While the Minjáni seized one child and pulled her down, the other got beyond his reach. He rushed to seize her feet, letting go of his first capture, but he was too late. The girl got the comb, and both disappeared, leaving the poor trader distracted and helpless.

Murder and adultery.

The mere killing of an individual is looked upon as a small affair, provided that he does not belong to the tribe or to another tribe with which it is at peace, for in the latter case it may mean war. Killing strangers might or might not be considered inexpedient, but it would not be considered a crime.

Adultery and fornication are looked upon as natural acts, and anyone caught in adultery and compelled to pay the customary penalty is merely considered unlucky and a subject for laughter. The chastity of women and Káfir ideas on this subject are dealt with in the section on women.

The Káfir idea of a "good" man.

In the Káfir's opinion a really fine manly character, what he emphatically calls a "good" man, must possess the following attributes: he must be a successful homicide, a good hillman, ever ready to quarrel, and of an amorous disposition. If he is also a good dancer, a good shot with bow and arrows or matchlock, and a good "aluts" player, so much the better. These qualities constitute a fine man, but to be really influential in the tribe, an individual must be also rich. The possession of wealth gives enormous power to anyone in Káfiristán. A man may be brave, devoted to his country, clear-headed and sagacious, and yet have little or no weight in the tribal councils if he is poor, unless indeed he be also an orator, when to a certain extent his eloquence may make amends for his lack of riches. It might appear that the knowledge of this fact might be used by a traveller to bend the people to his own ends, but it is not so. Káfirs can be easily bribed, and will do almost anything for money, but their natural boastfulness compels them to publish the fact that they have been astute enough to get money from the stranger, when the cupidity of their friends and relations is at once inflamed, reason is thrown to the winds, and the gravest difficulties arise.

SECTION IV.

THE TRIBES: THEIR DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

The difference of religion.

Káfiristán at the present day is divided among certain tribes who differ from one another in language, dress, and manners and customs. Indeed, the only connexion which they have with one another is in the fact that all alike are non-Mahomedan. This sole peculiarity which they have in common may not long be maintained. Along the fringes of Káfiristán are numerous villages of Káfirs which have changed their own ancient religion and have accepted Islám. These converts are known locally as "sheikhs." But it is not only on the borderland of their own ancestral country that these sheikhs are to be met with. Close to Kámdesh, the chief village and the tribal headquarters of the Kám, are two small hamlets, one almost exactly opposite, across the Bashgul river called Agatsi, the other on the left bank of the Nichingul torrent known as Agarú. Both these little settlements are inhabited by Kám people who have become Mahomedans. Agatsi is a quiet peaceful place occupied by people who are of the Bilezhedári clan of the Kám, while Agarú is a most troublesome nest of thieving rascals who belong by birth to the Utahdári, a priestly clan. I have been assured by the Kámdesh villagers that they would gladly be rid of the Agarú folk, but on account of their relationship they can no more be interfered with than if they were true Káfirs. Utah, the high priest, confirmed this to me. He declaimed against his fellow clansmen of Agarú, but explained that if any one killed one of them it would be just the same as if he killed an ordinary Káfir. In the case of war with a Mahomedan power I was informed that even in the event of an actual invasion of the country the sheikhs would not co-operate with the Káfirs, nor fight on their side, but would stand really aloof unless the invaders, if victorious, unduly oppressed the conquered Kám, when the sheikhs would probably do all in their power to protect and avenge their relations. The two small sheikh communities, Agarú and Agatsi, are

of no importance in connexion with the power for offence or for defence of the Kám tribe, but the tolerant way in which the Káfirs look on them and on others of their race who have changed their religion for Mahomedanism is not only interesting in itself, but has to be borne in mind in all speculations concerning the future of Káfiristán. What is true of the Kám people applies with equal force to the rest of the Bashgul Valley Káfirs, although there are no other Mahomedan communities in the district. In the Wai country Mahomedanism is strongly making way. While I was in Káfiristán news was brought me that another of the Wai villages had destroyed the shrines of its heathen deities, and to all intents and purposes had become Musselman. The change was effected without bloodshed. As soon as the Mahomedans formed a sufficiently large majority of the inhabitants they threw down the shrines of Imra, Dizane, and other deities and cast away the idols. The minority made no great movement in defence of their faith. It is quite possible that before many years have passed it will no longer be correct to say that the different tribes inhabiting the so-called Káfiristán all resemble one another at least in the respect that all alike are idolaters.

The old division of Káfiristán into the counties held by the Siah-Posh, and that inhabited by the Safed-Posh was more convenient than scientifically correct. The Siah-Posh, the black-robed Káfirs, are made up of several different tribes, some of which have been at war with one another from time immemorial, but they appear in spite of this fact to have a good deal more in common than merely a resemblance in dress. They do not all speak the same language, but the difference in speech seemed to me more a difference of dialect than a radical distinction of language. Although it is true that one tribe of the Siah-Posh uses different words from those employed by another tribe for identical objects, and, although even the names of villages are altered by one people so as to be partly or entirely different from the names used by another Siah-Posh community, yet all the tribes who wear the dark-coloured raiment seem at once to understand one another and to be able to converse together fluently and without hesitation. But if this is true of the Siah-Posh, it is far different when we come to consider the so-called Safed-Posh or white-robed Káfirs. Among these tribes, of which two stand out as of chief importance, the Wai and the Presun, there is no similarity in dress, appearance, or language: they cannot converse without the aid of interpreters. The Wai and the Presuns (Viron) are not more dissimilar from one another than they are from the Siah-Posh.

The Siah-Posh and the Safed-Posh.

A convenient classification would be to divide all Káfirs into (1.) Siah-Posh. (2.) Waigulis. (3.) Presungulis or Viron people. There is another important tribe, called the Ashkun, of whom, however, it was most difficult to get any information. They are probably allied to the Waigulis. Although the classification given above might be found very convenient, it will be necessary to aim at more exactitude by enumerating in a tabular form all the tribes by their local names. As every valley in Káfiristán has more than one designation, while some have three or four, as, for instance, the valley on the road leading from Utzun into the Bashgul Valley, which is called Gourdesh by the Pathans, Istorgats by the Chitrális, and Istrat by the Kám Káfirs; so every tribe, doubtless, is spoken of in a particular way by different people. The names I shall use are those I heard in the Bashgul Valley or in Chitrál. Subsequent travellers entering Káfiristán in a different direction from my routes will almost certainly learn various new names for the people I am attempting to describe.

A classification of Káfirs.

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|--------------------------|--------------|
| (1.) Katirs. | } Siah-Posh. |
| (2.) Mádugál. | |
| (3.) Kashtán or Kashtoz. | |
| (4.) Kám. | |
| (5.) Istrat or Gourdesh. | |
| (6.) Presun or Viron. | |
| (7.) Wai. | |
| (8.) Ashkun. | |

It is probable that numerically considered the Katirs are more important than all the remaining tribes of Káfiristán put together.

The Katirs inhabit various valleys as Siah-Posh communities entirely independent of one another, but they acknowledge a common origin and a general relationship each to the others.

Tribes of the Siah-Posh.

The Katirs are divided into the following groups:—

- (a.) The Katirs of the Bashgul Valley, also called Kamozi and Lutdehchis. This people inhabit the Bashgul Valley from Ahmed Diwáná (Badáwan) to the hamlet of Sunra on the border of the Mádugál country. They occupy 12 villages, besides

several small hamlets like Sunra, Lalúk, and others in the Skorigul. The names of the villages are as follows :—

Ptsigrom,	?
Pshui or Pshowar,	Badamuk,
Apsai,	Oulagul,
Shidgul,	Chábu,
Bragamatál (Lutdeh),	Baprok, and
Bajindra,	Purstám.

(b.) The Kti or Katwár Káfirs, a small independent sub-division of the Katirs who live in the Kti Valley. They have but two villages, or rather one large village and a second, Aspit, hardly larger than a hamlet.

(c.) The Kulam Káfirs, living in the Kulam country, have four villages.

(d.) The Rámgulis or Gabariks. These are a most numerous division among the Katirs. They live in the most western part of Káfiristán, on the Afghán frontier. They probably inhabit several side tracts beside the main valley which gives them the name of Rámgul Káfirs. They are said to have 24 villages.

Of the other tribes included under the designation "Siah Posh," the chief is the Kám or Kamtoz. This people inhabits the Bashgul and its lateral valleys from the confines of the Mádugál country to the Kunar Valley. It has seven villages and various small settlements or hamlets. The villages are :—Urmir, Kámbróm or Kámdesh, Mergrom, Kamu, Sárát, Pittigul, and Bazgul.

The next Siah-Posh tribe in general and numerical importance is the Mumán or Mádugál Káfirs, who occupy that short tract of country behind the Kám and the Katirs of the Bashgul Valley. They are collected into three villages and possess also a few hamlets. The names of the villages are :—Bagalgrom or Mumán, Sasku, Mungul.

The next Siah-Posh tribe is the Káshtán or Kashtoz who, with the exception of one or two little settlements, are all located in one village, Kashtán, where they are greatly over-crowded. They formerly had a village in the Dungul Valley which was taken and burnt by the Asmár people, since which event the whole of the tribe have had to crowd into the little village of Kashtan, which is close by and to the west of Kámdesh.

There is a little colony of Siah-Posh Káfirs at Gourdesh or Istrat, an extremely over-crowded little village. The Gourdesh folk are said to be very different people from all the other Siah-Posh Káfirs, and to be in great part a remnant of an ancient people called the Aroms.

(NOTE.—There is in a hamlet called Arombrom, up the Arundo or Arnuigul, which it is declared was formerly a great village and the headquarters of the people.)

I believe the above list includes all the Siah-Posh Káfirs.

The Presun.

The Presun people, also called Viron by their Mahomedan neighbours, are probably a very ancient people. They inhabit the Presungul, and are entirely different from the Siah-Posh tribes on the one hand and from the Wai and the Ashkun people on the other. They are remarkable for their more peaceful disposition, and their inefficiency as fighting men. They have patient, stolid faces for the most part, and, compared with the Káfirs, are heavy in their movements. The thick clothes they wear add to their awkward, clumsy appearance. They are a simple people, very industrious, capable of wonderful feats of endurance, and, with the exception of the inhabitants of one of the villages, Pushkigrom, are meek and poor-spirited. Why the Pushkigrom villagers should be so different from the rest of the tribe is a problem that has puzzled me very much. When I was in the Presungul the other five villages, in the curious Káfir way, were at war with their near neighbours, the Wai, while Pushkigrom stood aside altogether and maintained friendly relations with that people. In such circumstances it is no wonder that the Presun people were defeated by their enemies. Many had been slain, many carried away captive to be ransomed or killed in default. Sad stories were told me of the straits the people were in. Indeed, it seemed probable that the Wai, provided that the Pushkigrom men remained neutral and the Siah-Posh tribes did not interfere, could do very much as they liked in Presungul, for the only act in the way of reprisal of which the Presuns could boast during the three years the war had lasted, was the murder of a Wai girl. But before I left the valley I heard that the Pushkigrom men had declared war with the Wai for some reason or other, by slaying a Wai man captured on the road, and that the Bashgul and the other Káfirs were interested in not permitting the Wai to go too far in their conquest, for fear lest there might be no room left for their own exactions. The Kám, for instance, make periodic visits to Presungul during the time the passes are open, and return with any presents the Presuns think it expedient to give them. The Kám, indeed, behave a good deal like owners of the country. The Presun

villagers carry loads for them and have to produce food and necessities, but all alike have to be circumspect by day and safely housed if possible by night—the Presuns for fear of the Wai, the Kám for fear of their inveterate enemies the Rámgul Káfirs and the Tsarogul Sheikhs. The high valley of the Presuns is easy, the grazing excellent, the flocks and herds are good, and the people can be plundered without much difficulty, but it is a sort of cockpit for Káfristán, and no man can wander there in absolute safety except when the passes are closed by snow. The Wai have more than once brought Afgháns into the country to plunder and harry, and have in this way added to the general state of insecurity which prevails. At one particular place on our march my escort of Kám Káfirs went through at a trot, garments girded up, bows strung, and matchlocks lighted, and with keen, wary looks on every face. The distance was only a few hundred yards, but all were greatly relieved when we got past the dangerous spot safely. The Presuns have six villages: Shtevgrom, Prontzgrom, Diogrom, Kstigigrom, Satsumgrom, and Pushkigrom.

The last tribes on the list are the Wai and the Ashkun. Of the Ashkun I know next to nothing, nor did I ever meet any Káfir who was able to give me much information about them. The small total of what I was told amounts to this: that the Ashkun people speak a language somewhat similar to that of the Wai, and are friendly disposed towards them. Their country is separated from the Kulam Valley by a range of mountains. They have two large villages; one (Káfir) on a river which flows into the Kti before its junction with the Péch or Kamah, the other (Mahomedan) on the banks of a torrent which falls directly into the Péch or Kamah on its right bank. The Wai
and the
Ashkun.

The Ashkun country is surrounded by thick forest, practically impenetrable, and is defended by a very brave people, particularly well armed with matchlocks, who are at war with all the other Káfir tribes, with the possible exception of the Wai. The Wai people speak a language quite different from that spoken in Presungul or by the Siah-Posh, and are a brave, high-spirited race, remarkable for their hospitality, and for their proneness to quarrel. They are said to be as genial in entertaining guests as the poor Presungulis are declared to be niggardly and contemptible, while they bear a high reputation for bravery. The Bashgul Káfir speaks with admiration of the two good meals a day which the Wai men offer a visitor, while he laughs disparagingly at the way in which a Presun runs into his house and shuts the door when he perceives a stranger approaching. However, the one is not so well formed by nature to speak with a possible enemy in the gate as the other.

The Wai people have ten villages of which the names were given me as follows:—Runchi, Nizhai, Jamma, Amzhi, Chimion, Kegili, Akun or Akum, Mildesh, Bargul and Prainta.

Of certain of these villages I have frequently heard, particularly of Nizhai, near the Péch river, I believe, which is the residence of a very energetic Mullah, who has either converted the people there to Mahomedanism, or keeps them steadfast in their new faith. The information was volunteered that, in the event of the Mehtar attacking Tsarogul in conjunction with the Kám, who are deadly enemies of this country, the Nizhai men and the Mahomedan Ashkuns would certainly hasten to the assistance of their Sheikh brethren. The Amzhi Valley drains into the Péch or Kamah just opposite the valley of Tsaro. While I was in Káfristán it was raided by the Bashgul Katirs, who brought away great spoil, but not without severe loss. The Amzhi shortly afterwards retaliated by surprising and killing every living thing in the little hamlet of Sunra in the Bashgul Valley. At present it seems that there is no very strong tribal feeling amongst the Wai. They are perpetually fighting amongst themselves. One or two of the lower villages have turned Mahomedan, while the Katir raid on the Amzhi was held by the remainder of the tribe to call for vengeance from the Amzhi only, the sufferers.

Of the slave population of Káfristán mention will be made hereafter (see page 100). A portion of them, at any rate, are probably the remnant of an ancient people subjugated and enslaved by the present dominant tribe. Possibly the Presuns also come under the same category of a very ancient people, although they are not only not enslaved, but actually have in their midst Siah-Posh slaves and none of any other kind. The remains of another ancient race are said to exist at Pittigul in the valley of the same name, and at Gourdes in Istrat. From intermarriages with the Kám and others, the Jazhis, as they are called, cannot now be distinguished from other Bashgul Káfirs, but the tradition remains that they were in full possession of the Lower Bashgul Valley when the Kám invaded it from the west and drove out or slew nearly the whole of the people they found there. Possibly Pittigul and Gourdes being out of the way, so to speak, were able to resist the Kám for some time, and then to amalgamate with their conquerors on more or less equal terms. Pittigul is peculiar in certain respects. The slaves.

It is remarkable in having a priest of its own, which no other Kám village has. The Kámdesh Utah, or priest, is not only a village but also a tribal functionary.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES.

I have not been able to get any real insight into the political organization of any of the tribes, except those in the Bashgul Valley, the Katirs to the North, and the Kám and the Mádugál and others lower down. It is consequently with reference to the Bashgul tribes, and especially to the Kám, that the following description chiefly applies. It is probable, however, that the internal management of the other tribes is formed more or less on the same model.

Inter-tribal
enmities.

Although the Rámgul, the Kulam, the Ktis, and the Katirs of the Bashgul Valley, have all been considered as belonging to one great tribe—the Katir—yet each of the divisions enumerated is to all intents and purposes a separate tribe. Each is entirely independent of the other, and makes war or peace without in the slightest degree considering its neighbours. For instance, the Western Káfirs have been at war with the Kám for generations, at any rate, while the Katirs of the Bashgul Valley are at the present moment the friends or allies of that tribe, although Katir and Kám in the Bashgul Valley still look upon one another with some amount of jealousy and distrust, and only a short time ago were fighting furiously. A great source of Káfir weakness is the readiness with which the different tribes fight with one another, and the different clans of a tribe, or the different families of a clan, engage in sanguinary quarrels. Among such people as the Wai and the Presun it is not uncommon for a single village to stand aloof from the rest of the tribe, and take no part in a foreign war. The Katirs of the Bashgul Valley, at any rate, appear ever ready to start inter-village quarrels. Indeed, sometimes, if what one hears is true, portions of Káfiristán must be simply chaos. The Kám, on the other hand, hold much better together, and it is probable that it is for this very reason, that although not a numerous people they are yet greatly respected as well by the neighbouring tribes as by the Chitrális and the Pathans.

The tribe an
aggregate of
clans.

A tribe consists of a number of clans, each powerful according to the number of fighting men it can bring into the field, and according to its aggregate wealth. Besides the regular clans there are a number of men who belong to groups of families which can hardly be called clans. Such men are less important than members of the great clans, because the fighting strength with which they might have to support an argument is inconsiderable. Yet such individuals as have amassed wealth are readily accorded a good deal of respect. Lower still in the scale is a class of men, the members possibly of once important groups of families or small clans which have died away and become impoverished from some cause or other difficult to determine at the present day. These men are poor and without any tribal authority of any kind. It is from this class that the patsas or shepherds are obtained. The patsas are hired to tend the flocks and herds of wealthy Káfirs during the winter months on a regular scale of payment in kind.

The lowest class are of course the slaves. The several divisions of the Kám people may be shown as under :—

- (1.) The clansmen belonging to important clans.
- (2.) Men belonging to very small clans or groups of families.
- (3.) Men of distinctly inferior family but free men.
- (4.) Slaves.

Between classes (1) and (2) there is a point where it is difficult to decide, to which category certain individuals belong, nor is there any peculiarity in the appearance of the one class to distinguish it from the other. But with the men of class (3) it is as a rule quite otherwise. They appear to approach more closely the slaves than the members of the important clans, and often differ considerably from the latter in features and in general appearance.

Names and
standing of
the clans.

The chief clans of the Kám are as follows :—

- (1.) Utahdári.
- (2.) Demidári.
- (3.) Garakdári.
- (4.) Sukdári.
- (5.) Bilezhedári.
- (6.) Waidári.
- (7.) Lanandári.
- (8.) Kanardári.
- (9.) Gutkehdári.
- (10.) Batardári.

The first six are really important clans. Of these the Garakdári and the Bilezedári are probably the largest, the Demidári the wealthiest, while the Utahdári, the clan which produces the tribal priest, though not so numerous as some of the others, and perhaps less rich than the Demidári, is yet as important as any. Of the remainder the Lanandári is probably the smallest of all. It is difficult to determine how many fighting men any of the above clans can muster. It is also hard to decide which is actually the biggest, for any Kám man belonging to any one of the first six would most certainly declare that his own clan was the most numerous though, probably, whichever the man belonged to himself he would probably admit that the Demidári were the wealthiest.

Probably the Garakdári and the Bilezedári number about 300 fighting men each, while the Utahdári, the Demidári, the Sukdári, and the Waidári have only about 80 men. The Lanandári contains, probably, no more than a dozen or fifteen warriors altogether.

Each of these clans has one chief man or more to represent it. These representatives are generally, in the more important clans almost invariably, headmen or Jast. Government of the clans. But it must not be supposed that they all have equal authority. Some of them are absolutely without weight of any kind in the tribal councils. All these clans are closely connected together by marriage ties. Indeed, as all Káfirs are polygamous to a certain extent, and as no man may take a wife from his own clan or from his mother's, or from his father's mother's clan, it can easily be imagined how closely the people are connected with one another.* Nevertheless a clan is always ready to act together as a clan without reference to cousinship or marriage ties.

An individual's importance in a clan is principally gauged by the wealth he possesses and his influence or popularity depends in no small degree on the way in which he feasts his fellow tribesmen, and his willingness to provide sacrifices. If to this important qualification he adds a reputation for bravery, and has a fair record of slain, and is moderately clear headed, he may fairly expect to become one of the chief men of the tribe as he gets on in years. But to be of the very first consideration he must belong to one of the biggest of the clans, and also have several grown sons and grandsons.

If he goes several times through the ceremonies connected with the free banqueting of the whole tribe, or makes his sons go through those ceremonies, and he himself goes into a still higher grade by means of further banquets, then he becomes one of the inner circle of the Jast, of which there are never more than four or five in the whole tribe, and he will be treated with the utmost respect by everybody. The importance of grown-up sons and grandsons lies in the numerical strength they afford in family, clan and tribal quarrels. It is a most important thing to belong to a big clan for the same reason—where there is strong feeling on any particular subject, abstract justice is apt to be overridden by brute force, by majorities always ready to back up their argument by blows, if necessary.

The chief clans of the Bashgul Katirs are :—

- (1.) Jannahdári.
- (2.) Barmodári.
- (3.) Shakldári.
- (4.) Mutadawadári.
- (5.) Charedári.
- (6.) Shtukdári, and
- (7.) Sowadári.

The divisions of this tribe are, however, of comparatively small interest, as the Jannahdári are so wealthy and powerful that they completely overshadow all the other clans. The priest of the tribe, Kán Mára, belongs to the Jannahdári, as do also all the other prominent men in the country.

An individual cannot become of great importance in the tribe until he is a headman or Jast, one of those individuals who are permitted to wear the women's coronetted earrings through the upper part of the ear, and to wear whatever gorgeous dress he can procure for religious ceremonies and dances,—a man to be admired and envied by all who have not attained the same rank, and one to be always treated with respect and given precedence. Little boys can become Jast, that is to say, they The Jast.

* The word "zhame" (brother-in-law) is so constantly heard in Kámdesh that one of my Baltis fell into the error of supposing it was an ordinary word of greeting, and on one occasion when helping to raise a house beam shouted out to the Káfirs "Now, zhame, lift!" The priest cheerily exclaimed with a grin, "All you who are Talib's brothers-in-law—lift," and all the Káfirs amused themselves with the joke, instead of getting angry as Indians or Pathans would have done.

can go through the prescribed ceremonies, attain the earrings, and probably be given a place in the dances also, but they will not be considered as other than boys while they are boys. They act sometimes as acolytes, and hold water for the priest during certain special ceremonies and feasts, at which none but the Jast and the priest may be present. Amongst the Kám it takes nearly three years to become a Jast and involves the giving of twenty-one feasts, ten to the Jast and eleven to the tribe at large. There are also several complicated ceremonies to be gone through. Among the Katirs their necessary observances can be completed in about two years.

The village
feasts.

The feasts are most expensive. Amongst the Kám many men utterly ruin themselves in becoming Jast, spending their substance to the last goat, the last cheese, the last pound of ghee, and take praise to themselves for having done so. The feasts are not left to the discretion and liberality of the individual. If he were to offer cattle in poor condition or male goats of inferior size, he would be immediately heavily fined. While going through the ordeal the man himself or his immediate relations are all conscious of the dignified position the family is attaining. They often at such times profess a liberality they are far from feeling. I have more than once or twice been promised a goat by one of them, but I never expected it to be sent to me, nor was I ever disappointed. A man cannot go through the ceremonies by himself; he must have a female coadjutor. She may or may not be his wife, but usually is not, for the expense of two persons of the same family giving these compulsory feasts at the same time is so great that there is only one man in the Kám tribe, Torag Merik, who can bear such a strain on his resources. An arrangement is usually made between two men by which one of them goes through the Jast ceremonies with the wife of the other, whose husband will be associated with the first man's wife in similar feast-givings as soon as the flocks have had time to recover the drain to which they have been subjected. The initiatory proceedings are sacrifices of bulls and male goats to Gísh at the chief shrine. The animals are examined with jealous eyes by the spectators to see that they come up to the prescribed standard of excellence. After the sacrifice the meat is divided among the people, who carry it to their homes. These special sacrifices at the shrine recur at intervals; but the great slaughterings are at the feast-giver's own house, where he entertains sometimes the Jast exclusively and sometimes the whole tribe, as already mentioned. At Gísh's shrine, after a big distribution at the giver's house, one or two goats are offered to the war god, the meat is distributed and carried away, while tchina cakes, cheese, salt, and wine are consumed by all present. New arrivals sit down quietly and look expectant. They have not to wait long before they are attended to. Handfuls of tchina cakes, very thin, either circular with a diameter of 2 inches or so, or oval, with a maximum measurement of 3 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and small cubes of cheese, are brought round on trays with salt. The wooden wine bowl circulates at intervals. Little family parties may be seen, the gaffer with a small cake in his left hand heaped up with salt, into which he and his four or five grandchildren dip as they eat.

The only privilege the woman gains is that she is allowed to wear markhor or goat's hair round the top of her dancing boots, and to have a share in the dancing when, at the completion of all the formalities, there is a ceremonial dance at a particular festival.

For the general distribution of food to the villagers, considerable preparation has to be made. The slaughtering of the animals and the cooking are done in the afternoon for the following morning's feast. I witnessed one of these preliminary slaughterings. The place selected was on two or three contiguous house-tops, which afforded a level space of some 20 yards in length and 12 to 15 in breadth. There were several large stone pots (valued at two or three cows apiece) boiling on their respective iron tripods, each of which was declared to be worth one cow, so valuable are utensils of all kinds in Kámdesh. Two or three slaves attended to the fires. Seated in the shade of a wall were all the notables of the village while sauntering about with the high slow tread of mountaineers were many friends and neighbours of the feast-giver. They were so numerous that they had great difficulty in avoiding the large wooden bowls full of blood, which stood about in different places where animals had been slaughtered. Streams of half congealed blood marked the positions where the carcasses had been dragged on one side to be skinned and dismembered. Several dogs were furtively lapping at the semi-solid stream, keeping a wary eye on passers by who occasionally aimed at them a blow or a kick and drove them off howling dismally. There were 15 big male goats and five bulls killed while I was there. From the number of people present, and from the way they behaved, the spectacle was evidently

regarded in the light of a highly popular show. The goats were slowly driven forward one by one, rapidly seized, and thrown across a stool, when a sharp knife was thrust into the neck behind the angle of the jaw and the arteries near the spine divided. The edge of the knife was then turned round and made to cut outwards through the front of the neck. The head was then twisted violently round and separated from the body by a few touches of the knife. The string of goats was disposed of rapidly. They were patted and petted and stood perfectly quiet awaiting their turn. Only the last two or three struggled and tried to break away, although the smell of blood was overpowering. The bulls were seized one by one by the horns and the heads depressed to the ground by a Káfir, the animals not making the slightest resistance. Then a second man with a feeble-looking axe, which, however, never missed its mark, knocked them down dead or paralysed them by a single blow behind the horns, the blood spurting forth copiously. Generally one or two additional blows were given while the bull lay prostrate. All the time this was going on the feast-giver was standing before one of the fires over which the pots were boiling, and kept adding certain branches and crying "Yamach!" stepping back every now and then for a handful of blood to throw on the fire, or for a goat's head to singe in the flames. No one joined in the responses, as all do before the idols, but the individual had the entire ceremony to himself. The carcasses were dragged or carried away to be hung up and divided, in the case of goats or to be skinned and knifed on the ground in the case of oxen. In spite of the bowls placed to receive it, blood covered the whole of the ground, the headless carcasses quivered as though still alive, and the smell of raw meat and filth became intolerable. The rapidity with which the animals were killed and their bodies scientifically cut into joints or properly shaped fragments was remarkable. One of the most unpleasant of the sights was to witness the workers consume with much relish the stray portions of raw fat. The women of the household stood by in readiness to receive into their conical baskets the omentum and its fat, and showed much housewifely anxiety in watching its course from the animal's body until it was safe in their custody. This was the show to which all Kámdesh had gathered. Those who could not find room in the confined space on the housetop, sat in groups some distance off talking politics, discussing one another's garments, or else performing friendly offices for one another which need not be more particularly mentioned. The public banquet is a common sight. It takes place on the housetops, of course, as there alone can sufficient level space be procured. The spot is arranged for the company by having deodar poles, 6 ins. in diameter, placed opposite to and about 4 ft. distant from one another. On these the guests seat themselves, about 25 on each pole, and cooked meat in fragments is brought round in the usual conical baskets used by the women. The servers were the men and women of the family. The number of seats being limited, there is usually a crowd of men waiting patiently until the earlier guests are satisfied. Every ten minutes or so the latter are replaced by onlookers or fresh arrivals. Bread is handed about in the shape of thin "chappaties," 10 ins. in diameter, made with tchina flour. The business-like manner in which people came, sat down, were fed, and then went away without paying any kind of compliment to their hosts was very curious. These feasts vary in magnificence. A man's entertainment may not fall below a certain standard, but it may be as expensive or ostentatious as he likes. A very rich man will supplement these average banquets by giving wine or other luxuries. On certain days meat is always consumed; on others it is not eaten at the place of entertainment, but great lumps or portions skewered together are in readiness for the guests to carry home with them, while bread, ghee, etc., are partaken of at the house. A miserly Káfir, a man remarkable for covetousness in a nation where cupidity is esteemed a virtue, will do his utmost, will try every shift and expedient to render his feast a success. He thinks nothing of ruining himself completely to become a Jast, and ever afterwards refers to his impoverished condition with a proud humility, expecting and generally getting the sympathy and admiration of his audience at every such allusion. Not unfrequently as one of the periodic food distributions are drawing to a close some man, often a visitor from some other tribe, will suddenly raise his voice and sound forth the praises of his host, dilating on his bravery and generosity, on the wealth of his family, and the proud position they hold as dispensers of food largess. The Kám folk are particularly proud of these general entertainments, and frequently asked me if in my country people gave away in "charity" as largely as the Kám did.

The entertainments given to the Jast alone are considered most imposing and exclusive functions by the people. It is named the Mezhom. As the number of the Jast is limited an array of seven male goats and one bull is sufficient for each day's

The
Mezhom.

entertainment. I was invited to take part at a Mezhom, a compliment, I believe, of an unprecedented kind. When I reached my host's house the verandah was thronged with people, and one or two carcasses of goats were lying about. A small party of slaves were drumming and piping before the door of the living room, which had all its furniture removed and long planks substituted for the convenience of the Jast, who were seated in a dignified, expectant manner all round the room. The smoke-hole opening had been enlarged till it was about 4 feet each way. I found that Utah the priest, who was also the candidate for the Jast honours, was busily engaged tending the sacred fire burning on an upturned iron girdle resting on an iron tripod. He was adding ghee, wine, portions of chappaties, and tchina flour to the flames. At the threshold, which was raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground level, as is the case in Káfir houses, sat a well-known Jast. The goats brought one by one to be sacrificed had merely their heads thrust into the room, when the Jast above-mentioned at once seized and killed the animals, catching the blood in wooden vessels. Utah took a handful of blood as it was flowing from each goat and added it to all the other things on the fire. The Debilála continued singing the praises of the god, while, at each addition of blood to the fire, at a signal from Utah, the whole audience chorussed a response. The severed heads were then singed in the fire. The usual response "i-i-i yamach!" was repeated twice by every one, and two of the Jast in my corner piped a monotonous bar or two on the reed instruments. In the verandah the slaves every now and then came in with terrible effect. In the enclosed space their music had a surprising clangour, and drowned the Debilála's chaunt altogether. After all the seven goats had been killed the ceremony was practically at an end. An old woman brought in a basketful of earth to throw over the blood on the floor. She had, no doubt, been through the necessary feasts, or she could not have been present in the room. So also with the little boy who, acting as an acolyte, poured water over Utah's hands. The entertainment wound up with a general feast. The people outside in the verandah who caught glimpses of the strange and rather gruesome entertainment considered themselves honoured and gratified. The Káfir who went to India with me explained that he liked such shows just as I liked the Calcutta theatres. The feast-givers are known as "Kaneash," while those who have already completed their virtuous work are known as "Sunajina."

The
Sanowkun.

The Kaneash have a complicated ritual to go through quite apart from the food-giving ceremonies already described. As the time approaches when they may don the earrings the formalities become more and more complex. On February 11, I was camped a short distance from Kámdesh, and my friend the priest, who was also a Kaneash, sent a breathless messenger to inform me I must be present at an important function at his house that evening called the Sanowkun. We hurried back to Kámdesh, calling on our way on Utah, who was found busy with the garments he was to wear in the evening. As Utah's "brother" I was expected to contribute a turban for his benefit. Utah came over to see me at five o'clock, but could not stay more than an instant, he was in such a flurry of excitement. He hurried away to dress, although the entertainment did not begin till eight o'clock. At the time appointed I found Utah's living-room full of guests seated on planks placed against the wall, or on stools, wherever there was sufficient room for them. In the middle of the hearth a fire was blazing brightly. Against one of the centre wood pillars Utah was seated. It was the hour of his triumph. He was a simulacrum of a man in that he closely resembled one of the decked out effigies. He had on a thick stumpy turban, having in front a fringe of cowrie shells strung together with red glass beads, and furnished with a tail. A plume-like bunch of juniper-cedar was stuck in the front of this striking headdress between the folds of the cloth. His ears were covered with a most complicated collection of earrings of all shapes and sizes. About his neck was a massive white metal necklace, brass bracelets rudely stamped with short lines and marks adorned his wrists, while he had on his feet the ordinary dancing boots with long tops ending in a markhor hair fringe. He wore a long blue cotton tunic, reaching nearly to his knees, and the curiously worked black and white nether garments made for these occasions at Shál in the Kunar valley. Perhaps the most striking part of the costume was a Badakhsháni silk robe of the usual gaudy pattern, which was thrown negligently across the shoulders. In his hand was the dancing axe of his fathers. He was bursting with pride and delight at his own appearance. After a short interval, Utah being unable to officiate as priest, a Jast stepped forward and acted as deputy. He bound a white cloth round his brows, took off his boots, washed his hands, and began the night's proceedings by the sacrifice of two immense billygoats, the largest I have ever seen, the size of young heifers. The sacrifice was conducted in the usual way

with the customary details. The special feature of the ceremony was the dabbling of some of the blood on the forehead of Utah and on the forehead and legs of his son Merik, who, seated opposite his father was still weak and ill, for he was only just recovering from small-pox. For the boy this proceeding meant that he might thenceforth wear trousers. Besides the ordinary flour, bread and ghee, placed by the fire ready for the sacrifice, there were some enormous chappaties, about 15 inches in diameter, like those given to elephants in India. At this point these were lifted up, a sprig of blazing juniper-cedar thrust in the centre and they were then solemnly circled round Utah's head three times and made to touch his shoulders, while the deputy priest who handled them cried "Such, such!" The same thing was then done to the boy. After an interval for refreshment there was dancing; but just before they commenced a visitor from Bragamatál burst forth into panegyrics upon Utah and on his dead father, and spoke of the immense amount of property which had been expended on the feast. This fulsome flattery was rewarded according to custom by the present of a lungi or turban cloth, which was taken from the waist of the little boy, Utah's son, who was still suffering from the effects of small-pox. The fire was then taken away and four or five visitors were provided with turbans and dancing boots, as well as scarves to wear over their shoulders or round the waist. Utah's sister and her little daughter, aged twelve, then made their appearance in full dancing attire. As soon as all were ready pine-wood torches were lighted and the dancers began the usual 1, 2, 3, pause, 1, 2, 3, pause. Utah with the Debilála and the Pshur, the man who gets temporarily inspired, took up a position in the centre of the room on the hearth, while the others danced outside the central pillars of the room. The first dances three in number were to Gísh the war god, and then the Pshur, who had been unusually quiet all the evening, saw a spirit, and behaved in his most furious manner. His frantic gestures in the direction of the smoke-hole made Utah and the Debilála at once enlarge the opening by pushing up the covering with their axes; he then seized the ghee vessel and carried it off to prevent the spirit getting hold of it. He breathlessly explained that in order to obviate a great calamity to Utah and to himself a goat must be sacrificed on the morrow. He was finally interrogated in a formal way by his brother ecclesiastics, they and the company generally chorussing responses in the usual manner at regular intervals. After Imra had been danced to, Dizane was honoured in the same way, the Debilála chanting her praises while he danced. Then succeeded dances to other deities.

The following day music and amusements for the young were continued all day at Utah's house, and then early on the morning of the 13th he, with the assistance of many of his friends, ceremoniously changed his turban for a broad-brimmed, crownless, hat, into the front of which a sprig of juniper-cedar was thrust. This changing of the headdress is called the Shara'ute. In their uniform which they wore till the spring, Utah and his brother Kaneash, of whom there were three more, were considered "pure." Great care had to be observed that their semi-sacred garments were not defiled by coming into contact with dogs. The Kaneash were nervously afraid of my dogs, which had to be fastened up whenever one of these august personages was seen to approach. The dressing has to be performed with the greatest care in a place which cannot be defiled by dogs. Utah and another had convenient dressing rooms on the top of their houses, which happened to be high and isolated, but another of the four Kaneash had been compelled to erect a curious-looking square pen made of poles in front of his house, his own roof being a common thoroughfare. The ceremony of the Sanowkun is always performed in much the same way, although sometimes the details are slightly varied.

Another curious duty undertaken by the Kaneash is to grow a miniature field of wheat in the living room of the house. On February 25 I went to visit one of them. Against the south wall of the room there was a little mound of earth some 3 ft. by 2 ft., about 1 ft. high, and levelled on the top. In this tiny field wheat was growing; the young shoots had already attained the height of 2 ins. or 3 ins. No woman has anything to do with this wheat growing; it is all done by the Kaneash alone, and among the Kám is remarkable as the only agricultural operation the men ever attempt. Just in front and to the east of the tiny field was a flat stone and an iron tripod, on which some pine sticks were placed all ready for lighting. In front of this miniature altar was a stool with a flat piece of wood in front which was to serve as a footstool. The Kaneash every evening goes through the following rite. He seats himself on the stool and takes off his boots, while some friends or relations light the fire, bring forward a wicker basket piled up with cedar branches, a wooden vessel containing water, a small wicker measure

Wheat
growing
by the
Kaneash.

with a handful of wheat grains in it, and a large carved wooden receptacle full of ghee. The Kaneash having washed his hands assumes the crownless hat he must always wear, and begins by lighting and waving about a cedar branch while he cries "Such!" "Such!" He then thrusts this into the water vessel before him and then burns a second branch completely, after waving it as before, and sprinkling it with the now holy water. He then proceeds to sprinkle the cedar branches, the fire, and the ghee vessel. Next he piles cedar branches on the fire with a few wheat grains and a handful of ghee, and begins his incantation while the flames are dancing merrily and the smoke rolling upwards in clouds. He pays tribute to all the gods in regular order, every now and then pausing to sprinkle and cast his offering on the fire as at the beginning. The temperature of the room frequently grows terrific for the ordinary house fire is blazing on the hearth all the time. The scene altogether is a strange one, especially as the walls of the room are frequently adorned with grotesque figures painted in black on its clay-coloured ground. The sprig of cedar worn in front of the hat shows that the wearer is an ordinary notable who has become a Jast. If he has gone through the ceremony before, he wears two sprigs of cedar. This is very rare indeed, but while I was in Kámdesh a famous Káfir named Torag Merik who was a Kaneash had his headdress adorned with three sprigs of cedar to show it was the third time he had completed the food distribution. His associate was his own wife. These facts were sufficient to tell the initiated that Torag Merik must be the richest man in the whole of Kafiristan in all probability. The woman associate of a Kaneash does her killing and feasting at her house on the day following his. She has no wheat growing to do, nor does she make offerings to the gods. She merely has one round of dancing with her partner at the Munzilo festival.

Minor ceremonies.

There are all manner of side ceremonies connected with the Jast. I went on one occasion to see a man who was just beginning his feast-giving. One of the Kaneash officiated as priest, which, I believe, all are capable of doing during their period of purity. A bull and some goats were sacrificed. Into the flowing blood arrows were dipped, and then, at the end of the proceeding, were fired away promiscuously. A vessel containing blood mixed with water was afterwards emptied ceremoniously by ladlefuls on to the ground and subsequently a tub with similar contents was similarly emptied. No one seemed to know the meaning of all this, or else none could or would explain its meaning, but on the whole I am inclined to think that, even allowing for my difficulty in understanding the language spoken, it is probable that the original meaning of many of their ceremonies have been lost by the Káfirs; that they continue the ritual handed down from their forefathers without troubling about its meaning, and like many other people mistake the ceremony itself for the principles it symbolises. In the year 1891 the Kaneash began their final duties on the 11th of February. None of them were permitted to leave the precincts of Kámdesh, except for one particular sacrifice at Urmir, until May 10. On the latter date the four put off their crownless hats until they were finally wanted for a particular dance, and went about with their heads bound round with a big piece of white cloth, put on as a crown would be worn. They continued to wear the rest of their uniform for an indefinite period.

The Duban festival.

The Duban festival at Kámdesh began on March 21 in 1891. This is the period of the spring dances and Káfirs come in from the outlying villages to participate in them. The Kaneash all have to be present to take part in the performances, which were curious. On the 22nd the serious business of the festival began. The dancers, all of them Jast, having arrayed themselves in Sultánzari over-garments, gaudy turbans used as scarves, their heads adorned with white turbans, into the front of which were thrust sticks ornamented with the crest feathers of the pheasant, danced round and round to so slow a measure that they hardly appeared to bend the knee or to move forward. They were preceded by the four Kaneash of the year, attired in their official dress and crownless hats and were followed by more or less of a rabble, hunted up by the Uir Jast, a kind of master of the ceremonies, to swell the throng. The procession tramped slowly round the dancing house. In the centre of the dense crowd was a man beating a drum and the Debiláta hammering incessantly at a small one. This surprised me greatly, for, as a rule, it is only slaves that beat drums. These two individuals kept chanting line by line what I believe was a hymn of praise to Imra. Just as they reached the last word of the line the rest of the performers broke in with a "ai inge-e.e.e. yuma derinja tunamach!" This went on for an indefinite time apparently, the only variation being that occasionally the leading four, the Kaneash, faced round and led the procession, creeping backwards instead of forwards. All the performers were most solemn in feature, while the leaders bore themselves with much dignity. At length an end came to this part of the show, and Utah proceeded

to the door at the east end of the building and with his back to the opening faced the fire and had water poured over his hands. A bowl of water was then handed to him, which contained a sprig of cedar. With the latter he sprinkled water about three or four times, much of it falling over the bright dresses of the Jast. Each time he recited the word Such! Then he commenced naming each god in turn, thus: "Ai Imra tunamach!" (this is in your praise O Imra), and so on. The whole audience chorusing the usual reponses, "i. i. i. yamach!" There was no sacrificing and consequently no sprinkling of blood.

An interval followed, during which late arrivals, all important men, began with the help of admiring friends to robe themselves, covering their everyday dirty garment with bright hued silks from Peshawer and Badakhshán. When all were ready a single line of Jast stood ranged round the dancing house, all facing inwards. All dressed in their best attire and each holding his bright dancing axe over his shoulder. Utah and the other three Kaneash having exchanged their crownless hats for the cawrie fringed turbans threw each of them a Badakhshán silk robe over on his shoulders, and placed themselves at the top of the room. Curiously enough, Utah of the four was the only dancer, and the other three from age or other causes preferred to lean against the pillars in the centre and look on. The Debilála and the Pshur occupied a position in the centre and in front of Utah. A big log fire was blazing between them. Between the line of Jast ranged round the centre group and the spectators were a number of women dancers, who were grotesque and dirty to look at in spite of the ornaments on their persons. The spectators crowded every corner of the building while its two open sides were filled up for the most part by girls and young women who packed themselves between the timbers of the heavy open framework and climbed into all manner of difficult places where one would expect to see adventurous boys. The latter, however, were almost without exception in the place of honour on the floor of the house. Dances in honour of Gish, Dizane, Imra, Krumai, &c., were then gone through. The Durban dancing continued until February 27.

The last appearance of the "Kaneash" as exalted individuals is at the Munzilo festival in August. A careful description of that event at second hand went down the Bashgul river with my last note book. But the chief points connected with it were as follows:—

The Munzilo festival.

Each of the Kaneash had to dance with his female associate. On the first day, No. 1 danced with his feminine coadjutor. On the second day, No. 1 and No. 2 both danced with the partner of the latter. On the third day Nos. 1, 2, and 3, all danced with the last named's associate and on the final day all the Kaneash danced with No. 4's partner. Each day while the man distributed food in the morning, the woman his ally, provided the evening meal. The Kaneash have to sleep out of doors throughout the festival, the two belonging to the upper village at Dizane's shrine, the other two near the shrine of Gish, the war god. All the Kaneash have to shave their heads, moustaches, and beards, leaving only the karunch or scalp-lock. At these final feasts, cheese was given away to everyone and the most arduous efforts had to be made by the food-givers to get a sufficient supply of the article. For many days before the Munzilo they were busy buying up all the cheeses they could obtain anywhere, an immense number being required to meet the extraordinary demand.

Another and nominally higher grade than the ordinary Jast is called by the Kám Káfirs "Mír," by which they mean king. To attain this dignity a man must first become a Jast. He then, at or about the Nilu festival, gives a great feast. The following year at the same date he entertains the whole of the village for two days. At the third Nilu he has one more food distribution after which he is a Mír. The outward and visible sign of this rank is that he is permitted the privilege of sitting on the national four-legged little stool outside a house or verandah, but I do not think there are any other tangible advantages in being a Mír. In Kamdesh in 1891, there were three men who enjoyed the title, while a fourth was qualifying for it. The priest of the tribe even before he becomes a Jast, is allowed the royal privilege of seating himself out of doors in the way described. Anyone may sit on planks, on benches, or on stools inside a house, but the unique position of occupying a stool outside the house is reserved for the Mír, and the priest. One woman had also attained this exalted rank. She was rather old and weak-looking. She never did any field work, but appeared to pass the whole of her time availing herself of her peculiar right to seat herself outside her own door.

The Mír

The men of the very highest importance in Kámdesh in 1890-91 were all Mírs, but the individual who was qualifying for the rank, although a man of great distinction in his own clan, could never have become, in any circumstances, of much consequence in the tribe. All the Mírs were grey beards. I do not know if there is any age qualification for the position, but possibly it is one of the many unwritten laws of the Káfirs that it would be presumptuous for any middle-aged man to seek the distinction.

The Ur Jast. The Ur or Uir Jast is an official elected annually, who holds an important position in the tribe. Indeed, during his year of office he is the equal of the Jast, I should say, but as he is a kind of magistrate and master of the ceremonies combined, he will be more particularly described when I come to the Káfir method of internal government.

Poor free-men. There is a class of the community to which I have already briefly referred. It has no distinction or distinguishing name, but consists of men of no family or position whatever, who are also devoid of wealth. They are not slaves. They have no flocks nor herds of their own, merely a little land which their wives cultivate. It is from this class that the shepherd or "patsa" is chiefly obtained. During the winter months he takes care of the goats, and receives for the whole winter one animal for every 20 in his custody. He often attaches himself to an important man as a henchman, and performs all the duties of a servant without receiving that title.

Recapitulation. A Káfir tribe such as the Kám is composed of the following social grades:—

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (1.) The Mírs and the Priest. | } Members of the same class. |
| (2.) The Jast, and the Uir Jast (an official). | |
| (3.) Members of important clans. | |
| (4.) Members of very small clans or groups of families. | |
| (5.) Poor freemen, patsas or shepherds. | |

The family. The family is the unit of the Káfir body politic. As the importance of a clan is dependent, to a very great extent, upon the number of families of which it consists, so the importance of a family is similarly dependent upon the number of adult males it can produce to back an argument or support the head of the house in all his contentions.

Authority of the father. The head of the house is autocratic in his own family. All his descendants give him respect and obedience during life, and honour his memory when he is dead. If a son believes himself to be dealt with unjustly by his father, and is hopeless of redress, he may leave the tribe altogether and turn Mahomedan for a time. He rarely opposes his father actively or threatens him, although he may threaten to make family affairs uncomfortable or disastrous unless his grievances are remedied. In some instances, however, when the father's actions have been of a particularly gross character, the son, backed by public opinion, may and does openly quarrel with and threaten his father. For instance, one of the brothers of Kán Mára, of Lutdeh, seduced and carried away his own daughter-in-law. His outraged son insisted upon about eight times the usual number of cattle usually paid as compensation for adultery, and swore that unless this demand was at once complied with he would not allow his father "to remain alive" in the valley. The penalty was paid.

Succession to the headship. When the father of a family grows senile his authority naturally lessens. On his death, if there be more than one grown-up son, the first-born (provided always he is not the progeny of a slave mother) becomes the head of the family, but his authority is not very great. Brothers try to hold the family flocks and herds in partnership as long as they can, but quarrels frequently arise which usually end in the property being equitably divided and each one going his own way. The disadvantage of separating until separation can no longer be avoided, is so well recognised that great efforts are made by relations and fellow clansmen, or other friends, to patch up any quarrel which occurs. Separation means weakening the family, and if none of the brothers have sons old enough to help in tending or herding the flocks, it also means great inconvenience, for no man can leave his grazing grounds to go to his village unless he leaves a deputy behind him, either as paid servant or a partner.

Family quarrels. Peacemakers in Káfiristán have always plenty to do. Brothers continually quarrel. The two most famous young warriors of the Kám tribe were two brothers named Shyok and Din Malik respectively. Together they owned a great deal of property. The former was the Uir Jast of the tribe in 1891, and both were saving up to become Jast. A terrific quarrel broke out between these two concerning the ownership of a sheep-skin bag. The High Priest with great difficulty succeeded in patching up

a peace, but assured me it would only be of a temporary nature. Just as I was leaving the Bashgul Valley a serious dispute broke out between the priest and his two brothers, the latter alleging that the former had received many presents from me which he had not shared with them. They demanded that the flocks and herds should be divided, and insisted on separating from their illustrious brother unless he came to terms with them.

Káfirs are polygamists. If houses are plentiful, as in Kámdesh, one man while young or middle aged may have several homes, two or three that is to say, for inferior or slave wives do not require separate maintenance, but as he grows older his sons will occupy his houses, and he will probably be content with one for himself, which the youngest son will eventually inherit, as will be explained in dealing with inheritance. Polygamy.

A typical powerful Káfir family was that of Dán Malik, of Kámdesh, or that of Kám Márá, of Lutdeh. Dán Malik was a very old man belonging to the important Demidári clan. Although not so wealthy as Torag Merik, he was of more weight in the tribal counsels, not only because of his deserved reputation for shrewdness, but because he had three stalwart sons and four or five grandsons on the verge of manhood. In 1891 he was undoubtedly the chief man of the Kám tribe, but since then he and two or three of his grandsons have been killed, and no doubt at the present time Torag Merik, my shifty "brother," is the most powerful man in the Kám tribe. Dán Malik lived in a single house with his aged wife and several little grandchildren, whose fathers, two of his sons, had been killed on the frontier. His three surviving sons lived in houses of their own, near at hand, each ruling his own family, but all looked up to Dán Malik as a final court of appeal in all matters. All the property of the family was held in common, and no dispute ever appeared to arise about the distribution of property, although two of the sons were both turbulent and avaricious, and all were of middle age. The average woman is of no importance in a family except as a field worker and as a bearer of children; she need not therefore be further referred to in this connexion. A typical Káfir family.

GOVERNMENT OF A TRIBE.

Káfirs are theoretically all equal. They maintain this principle themselves. Actually there is an oligarchy, or in some tribes an autocracy. The affairs of a tribe such as the Kám are managed by the Jast nominally, but actually by a small group of greybeards, who at ordinary times rule in a more or less absolute way. The Katirs and the Mádugális submit to the rule of one individual, unless their cupidity is aroused, when all common rules apparently snap of their own accord. A theoretic democracy.

The Kám ruling authority in ordinary times consisted of three Jast, who were also Mírs, and the priest. They used their power tactfully and always knew the bent of public opinion. The inner council.

Next to this inner council of the Jast come the orators, a troublesome class, who have wonderful influence in exciting or convincing the people. Volubility, assurance, and a good voice are as powerful amongst the Káfirs as elsewhere. All the orators of real influence were Jast also; one of them was one of the Mírs. On all questions of policy, foreign or domestic, Káfirs sit in Parliament and discuss the matter noisily. Yet in ordinary times the opinion of the inner council, most likely previously agreed upon among themselves, prevails. The orators.

A Káfir parliament is a strange sight. The clamour is wonderful. A dozen men, perhaps, try to speak at once, each has his own little group of listeners whose attention, if it wanders, he seeks to retain by loud ejaculations of "ai ai!" or by little pokes in the ribs with his walking club. If some very exciting topic is being discussed, perhaps all are talkers and none are listeners, but, as a rule, when one of the tribal orators begins to speak he gets the attention of the greater part of the assembly, his efforts being helped by shouted illustrations or further arguments by one or two of his admiring friends. Káfirs love to argue among themselves to decide on some definite line of action. Singly, they are often reasonable, but when they go off in a mob to the dancing platform, or group themselves under a tree and begin excited discussions, it is practically impossible to foretell what they will decide. Moreover, the discussion arrived at on one day is quite likely to be rescinded on the next day, and reverted to on the third. But such occurrences are exceptional, and only happen when the people are labouring under strong excitement on some subject such as a prospect of gain, which appeals to each individual personally, and maddens him with cupidity. A Káfir parliament.

and indecision how to obtain it. Generally the Jast or its inner circle manage everything.

The Urir.

The Ur or Urir are 13 individuals selected annually to act as a kind of magistracy in the tribe. Their chief, the Ur or Urir Jast, is an important man; the remainder are merely his followers and assistants. The duties of the Urir as a body are to regulate the amount of water that each agriculturist is to receive from the common irrigation channels. In ordinary times at Kámdesh there is no difficulty about this, the water is brought down in canals from the snow field behind and to the south of the village, and is ample for all requirements, but if the snow fall has been light, and the summer is hot and dry, great troubles arise. The women clamour for water for their parched fields, and quarrel, abuse one another, and fight viciously for the little water which remains. The Urir, either alone or with the general help of the community, keep the artificial water courses in good order.

Another important duty they have is to see that no one picks or eats walnuts or grapes before the appointed time. Many wild stories are told of the strictness with which this duty is done, and it is related that the inquisition is so searching that the ordure of suspected individuals is examined to see if it contains grape stones. These statements I doubt. For visitors and guests great exception is made, and the people are delighted to entertain strangers just about the time when the fruit is ripe, but permission to collect it has not been given. A traveller sometimes finds himself overcome with the kindness of his entertainers, who as a matter of fact are practising hospitality to themselves as much as to him. But with this exception the rule is strict about the plucking of fruit. The Urir punish disobedience by the infliction of fines which as they naively put it they "eat" themselves. It can only be the prospect of sharing in the fines which make men willing to serve in the often thankless office of the Urir. It is astonishing how well the people obey their unwritten laws. There are occasionally disputes and quarrels in consequence of the penalties inflicted, but both the punishers and the punished are obliged to be circumspect, for a public opinion which avenges any outrage on itself by promptly burning down the culprit's house and destroying his property, is a power not to be lightly disregarded. If the Urir were flagrantly unjust or tyrannous, public opinion would suppress them at once, while on the other hand disobedience to their lawful and proper enactments would be certain to be punished. The flaw in the arrangement is that the Urir, being human, fear to offend the wealthy or the strong families, but the system seems to work very well on the whole.

The Urir Jast.

The head of the Urir, the Urir or Ur Jast, is not only the chief elected magistrate, but he has other duties also to perform of a somewhat complex nature. Generally speaking, he acts as master of the ceremonies at all the festivals and dances. He beats up recruits for the dances, and stimulates flagging energies, not only by exhortation but also by example. He is the most earnest chaunter of responses, and the most untiring dancer in the village. He has to light the fire at the gromma every Wednesday night for the weekly Káfir Sabbath, the Agar. He also seems to be the official entertainer of guests.

A Urir election.

The election of the Urir Jast and his 12 companions in 1891 took place on March 19, at the Durban festival. I missed seeing the procedure for myself. It seems that the proceedings were of a simple character. First of all a bull was sacrificed to Gísh; after that the Jast and the people present decided who should hold office for the following year. Finally, Utah, the priest, taking that portion of the flour which remained over from the sacrifice carried it to the new Uir Jast's house, when the election was considered complete. It seems that all the flour not used as sacrifice is similarly carried to the Uir Jast's house. On the particular occasion referred to this newly elected Uir Jast was absent with his flocks. So his brother at once adorned himself with a fillet, threw a scarf over his shoulder, and began to wander restlessly all over the village, as though very busy, yet apparently doing nothing, the 12 Urir stringing after him. The actual Uir Jast was sent for in hot haste, and on his arrival had to feast all comers for several nights at his house, where there was dancing, as well as other festivities. On the last day of the month soon after noon women from every part of the village appeared, carrying each a wicker basket full of flour to the new Uir Jast's house. The women all wore their horned caps, which among the Kám are only worn on occasions of special ceremony. The whole of each basketful of flour was not bestowed upon the Uir Jast, but a small quantity was carried home again by each woman, where it was used in an offering to Imra. It was burnt with cedar branches, ghee, and bread on the family girdle.

On the whole, in consequence of the contributions he receives, the Ur Jast's appointment is believed to be lucrative as well as honourable, although his expenditure on the village feasts must be considerable.

Besides the authority exercised by the Jast and by the Urir the Káfirs are influenced very strongly by tradition and custom, the unwritten and even unspoken laws of the people. If the perplexed stranger asks the explanation of practices and usages which are new to his experience the reply will almost invariably be "Insta chit" (It is our custom), and this will be said in a tone and with a manner which imply that the speaker considers that there is nothing more to be said on the subject. The fear of ridicule is a powerful factor in preventing a Káfir adopting novel procedures or inventing new rules for action. If he can refer any given question to central principles generally recognised and accepted by Káfirs he is happy, but if he have no good cause for action of his own initiative he will do little or nothing; he will wait to have the matter settled by open tribal discussion.

Influence of tradition and custom.

The tyranny of majorities is very great. As a rule a minority gives way at once. Indeed it must be so, but the final argument is usually a threat. A Káfir is accustomed in all ordinary questions rapidly to calculate his chances of success, if the matter in dispute should end in a fight, and he dearly loves to fight with all the probabilities in his favour. If physical superiority is against him, he generally gives way at once, acquiescing, without rancour, in the views of the majority. In his own way the Káfir has an immense amount of Eastern fatality in his disposition, and is usually intelligent enough to distinguish between what is and what is not inevitable.

Tyranny of majorities.

Disobedience to the Jast in council is punished promptly and severely. The offender's house is burnt down, and his property dispersed and destroyed. As the Jast come from all the clans of a tribe their decision is the decision of the whole people, and he must be a brave man indeed who would refuse to accept the fiat of the council. The penalty mentioned is in reality a theoretical one only, for no one ever incurs it. If he felt himself unable to obey the rule of the Jast, a man would run away from his tribe altogether. The only instances I know where the punishment was ever threatened were two in number. The first was to me. It was hinted that if I declined to do as the Jast wished, then my house might possibly be burnt down and my property looted. I persisted in my refusal and nothing more was said. The second instance was on my taking Káfir youths to India. All families wanted to send representatives with me. A large number were consequently disappointed and enraged at the selection I made. In Chitrál the Jast sent a peremptory message to my guests that unless they returned at once their houses would be destroyed, their wives sold, and all their property divided among the tribe. It was obvious that this threat was not sincere, and had been forced from the Jast during a period of excitement and chagrin on the part of the majority of the Kám. My companions calmly ignored the mandate. They nearly all belonged to powerful clans, and knew that in the circumstances their property and their wives were safe. A week or two afterwards the whole of the Kám were delighted and expressed their delight at the arrangement I had made.

Various offences.
(1) Disobedience to the Jast.

The penalty for theft is rather doubtful. Theoretically it is a fine of seven or eight times the value of the thing stolen; but such a punishment in ordinary cases would only be inflicted on a man of inferior mark, unless it were accompanied by circumstances which aggravated the original offence. I should say, as a rule, that the loser would get his property back, there would then be high words, and the prospect of a fight, neighbours would intervene, and a goat would be sacrificed by the thief. Everybody would make friends and the sufferer would be given some slight supplemental payment as recompense for the trouble he had been put to in recovering his property. The tribe would heavily punish anyone who stole from another tribe or people with whom they were anxious to keep on good terms. Then the virtuous indignation expressed by the tribe's orators is most edifying, and the penalties are severe. In one case I know restitution was ordered by the Jast, and a fine of 15 Kabul rupees was also inflicted.

(2) Theft.

Murder, justifiable homicide, and killing by inadvertence in a quarrel are all classed as one crime, and punished in the same way. Extenuating circumstances are never considered. The single question asked is, Did the man kill the other. The penalty is an extremely heavy blood ransom to the family of the slain man, or perpetual exile combined with spoliation of the criminal's property. The man who has caused the death of a fellow tribesman at once takes to flight and becomes a "chile" or outcast, for his clan will not help him in any way. His house is destroyed and confiscated by the victim's clan, and his property seized and distributed. If he has relatives such as

(3) Murder.

a father or a brother who hold goods in common, it is asserted that their property is looted also, while if it is known that their possessions are entirely separate they must not be touched. There seems, however, to be a general impression abroad that the law in this respect is more severe to the poor than to the rich. Nevertheless, public opinion is strong enough to ensure that the shedder of blood leaves his village in any case without any hope of returning to it except by stealth. A murderer's family is not despoiled of his landed property. The chile or outcast is not compelled to leave his tribe. He must merely leave his village, and always avoid meeting any of the family or clan of the murdered man. If by chance he comes across any of them on the road he goes aside and conceals himself, or goes through the pretence of hiding himself so that his face may not be looked upon. In a village in similar circumstances he will hide behind a door or steal round the back of a house. His sons, those not grown up, as a rule become chiles also, and the same law holds good concerning his daughters' husbands and their descendants. Musselman traders who have married the daughters of "chiles" have to behave in precisely the same way as any other chile when they visit Kámdesh, for instance.

"Cities of
Refuge."

The village of Mergrom is the largest of several "cities of refuge." It is almost entirely peopled by chiles, the descendants of slayers of fellow tribesmen. I have known one of those people, a wealthy man, who had to avoid the Utahdári clan, go quietly to Kámdesh in the evening and hold a secret conference with Utah, the chief of the Utahdári, concerning questions of trade. In his case no rancour remained behind in the other clan. The man was a ceremonial outcast, and the grandson of him who did the deed. Nevertheless, he was as much an outcast in reality as if he were himself the murderer.

Atonement
in kind.

A man may atone for the shedding of blood by paying a large sum of money or in kind. This is so rarely done that there is even some doubt about the exact amount required, but it was generally stated to be 400 Kabuli rupees in cash and 400 Kabuli rupees' worth of property, clothing and what not. It is also said that if this kind of atonement is made it reflects so much honour on the family of the man who makes it, that the males are ever afterwards permitted to carry about a particular kind of axe to show their social importance.

Vengeance.

In the event of a double killing; that is to say, of a killer himself being slain by his victim's relatives, I was told the custom was for a cow to be killed, when the representative men of each clan would each put a foot in a pool of the animal's blood. This would constitute a solemn peace and an oath of a very binding character. This Káfir custom of avenging a murder is a valuable one. It prevents blood feuds which in Káfiristán would mean the extinction of a tribe, while its peculiar advantage is that it does not cause any additional loss to the fighting power of a tribe where every single male is of great importance to the whole people. The penalty is really extremely severe. It is considered an act of virtue to dash in and separate quarrellers. Men, women, and children will throw themselves between fighting men with the greatest intrepidity, and frequently get hurt in doing so. It behoves every Káfir to prove his manhood, and show he is not a "slave," by trying his utmost to injure his enemy up to the time the goat, the peace offering, is sacrificed, while everybody is interested in preventing him from seriously hurting his foe. His family fear that he may become a chile and lose his property, while all other Káfirs are impelled by public opinion to play the blessed part of the peacemakers. I have sometimes in argument put in imaginary cases, for instance: Suppose a man in defending his life from a murderous attack happens to slay his assailant, why should he become a chile? The reply at once was, "He should have disabled his enemy and not killed him." About accidental deaths I am in a little doubt. I know a man, the son of a friend of mine at Kámdesh. When a boy this man by ill-luck killed a little girl. He was hurling stones, one of which struck her so that she died. None of the family would even look in the man's face. If he were sitting in a verandah talking to me none of the Demidári would enter. He lived away at the village of Pittigul. I do not think, however, that he was regarded as a chile.

(4.) Assault.

The punishment for a murderous assault is decided by the Jast. For instance, a man once stabbed Dán Malik, one of the most important men in Kámdesh in 1891, but since slain by Umra Khan's men. The culprit nearly killed Dán Malik, and had to pay as compensation a large number of goats. Grievous injury would always be paid for. Slight hurt would be atoned for in the usual way, the man in the wrong having to provide the goat for the reconciliation feast. Sometimes the general indignation of the community causes a kind of lynch law to be employed. The chief man at

the village of Kamu was caught by the husband in an intrigue with a woman. The husband was soundly beaten by the seducer and his followers, but the whole village turned out, the peccant individual's house was burnt down and he himself put to flight. It was only after much intercession that he was allowed to return to and remain in the village.

On one occasion a Káfir, in the hope of getting a reward, went and told the Mehtar of Chitrál of a pretended plot against the life of his son, Shah-i-Mulk, declaring that he himself was the man who had been bribed by the Kám to strike the fatal blow. Although retribution was ordered by the Jast, the village really went to the man's house and comprehensively sacked it of its own accord, all being actuated by the same impulse.

The ordinary punishment for a man caught in adultery is a fine in cows. In the Kám district six cows have to be paid; in the Katir district only three. In this case also a man's clan will not protect him, so that he must pay the penalty as soon as he is able. When the woman runs away from the husband the penalty is, of course, greater, for there is the value of the woman herself to be taken into account. As before mentioned, the women often try to entangle men in order to get cows for their husbands, but when this is not the case the women seem to escape with little or no punishment if the fine is paid. The fine seems usually to soothe the husband's jealous feelings. (5.) Adultery.

Among the curious penalties are fines for eating certain fruit before the prescribed date; fines for making fun of any of the Urir within nine days after their appointment, and so on. (6.) Minor offences.

Besides the solemnity of an oath of peace made by two men, each putting the foot in the blood of a cow sacrificed to Imra, ordinary vows may be made by sacrificing a goat. Similarly, men may be released from a vow in a precisely similar way. Indeed, there are few ceremonies of any ordinary kind which cannot be done in Káfiristán by sacrificing a goat. I have been assured that a very binding oath is made in the following way:—Suppose a man is accused by another of stealing a cow, and is desirous of refuting the charge in the most convincing way possible, he shaves his head, even the karunch or scalp lock, and also shaves off his beard and moustache. He then strips himself absolutely naked, and, led by a friend to Imra's shrine, makes oath that he is innocent of the charge brought against him. He then puts on his clothes and goes home to sacrifice a goat. His late accuser also has to sacrifice a goat. I have never myself witnessed this ceremony, or that of swearing with a foot in a pool of cow's blood. My information is derived from conversations on the subject. Oaths.

A man often insists on having his debts paid him, but I have never heard of anything like interest being charged. Káfirs are frequently most generous in their lending. Suppose, for instance, a poor youth wins some great competition like throwing the "shíl." As a result of his victory he has to feast the village. Some one or other is certain to come forward and help him to do this, often with the absolute certainty of never being repaid. Káfirs are most lavish and generous in loans of this description. On the other hand, I have known a rich man belonging to a powerful clan trump up a claim on a suddenly enriched man of no importance (the Káfir who first went to India with me) that the father of the latter, before he died, had borrowed from the former many goats. It seems every one knew this was false, but the man having once advanced the claim, had to maintain it with threats of violence, until at length the other man, having no family or clan behind him, found it well to compromise the matter by handing over one or two goats in payment of a demand for several score. A powerful family, being creditors of a poor man, on the death of the latter seized the daughter, and kept her more or less as a bondswoman, until she ran away to Chitrál with a lover who was not satisfied with mere access to his sweetheart. He gave up his own wife, his home, and his religion for this woman. They both became Musselman, set themselves up in Lower Chitrál, and defied the family creditors. This episode constituted one of the few really romantic love stories I heard of in Káfiristán. Debt.

The great majority of debts are almost certainly never paid at all, the debtors being usually very poor people. They probably attach themselves to their creditors in many ways, and perhaps pay back in unacknowledged servitude the amounts they owe. In any civil disputes about property, the disputants fight, are separated, sacrifice a goat, and friends settle the matter. I saw this procedure carried out on a question arising about the profits of a certain partnership. A quiet argument was the first stage, abuse and a broken head the second, the inevitable goat and a reconciliation

the third; but in spite of this reconciliation the partnership was dissolved. The man who was actually in the wrong had to pay for the goat. He did this by stealing the animal from me. This was considered by all a tactful thing to do as it enabled the man to get out of an unjustifiable quarrel without cost to himself. They were all surprised, almost shocked, at me, a stranger, insisting on restitution.

In all other disputes the good old law of the strongest winning always prevails. It is that which makes the head man with many sons and grandsons so important a personage; since he can bring so much force to bear on those numerous minor questions between men of the same clan which so constantly arise; also, in disputes with families in other clans, which are not of sufficient importance for the whole clan to interest itself in. Wealth is also very important. The very rich man who is popular in the tribe because he keeps going through ceremonial feast-giving is certain to have a large number of ordinary supporters on almost any question, in addition to the number to be got by bribery. The poor man of unimportant family, no matter how brave he may be, is no match for a rich man who is not a coward.

Inheritance. The law of Káfir inheritance starts with the assumption that a woman cannot hold property. She has no rights of any kind, and cannot inherit. The property left by a father is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest has his share increased by some single article of value, such, for instance, as a cow, or a dancing robe, while the youngest inherits his father's house. It might seem that by inheriting the house of his father the youngest son has a distinct advantage over his brethren. This, no doubt, is true, but still the eldest of the brothers is the head of the family. I do not know to what this curious custom of the youngest inheriting the house property is due, nor could any one explain it. It may have been originally intended to prevent the youngest, while a weakling, from being thrust out of the house by his elder and stronger brothers. Of course, as the sons grow up, they settle in houses of their own which always remain theirs. The inheritance is strictly confined, I believe, to legitimate sons by free mothers. Slaves' sons would not count. If there are no children the deceased's brother would take all the property. If there were only one son, and he very young, the brother would, as a kind of guardian, practically do as he chose with the property, provided always that he gave away large amounts of it in feasting the tribe. The wives in such a case as this would also be his to dispose of. He would keep them himself or sell them in marriage. The mother of the heir would probably remain with her son in any case. If the heir is a son he may dispose of his stepmothers. I do not know if he ever sells his mother in marriage. I know she is often re-married, and it is probable her price goes to the son. In one case, elsewhere referred to, the son himself married one of his step-mothers. In the failure of the immediate near male relations, the estate would fall to distant male relations, and in failure of all such, to the clan. Never, in any circumstances, does it go to relatives by marriage, which, indeed, might mean its going out of the tribe altogether.

SECTION V.

VILLAGES, HOUSES, HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES.

Introduction. Káfir villages are built in various ways according as they are liable to attack by a numerous enemy or by small raiding detachments. Other considerations also must have been taken into account in settling the plan of the different villages. The chief of these must have been whether the inhabitants were numerous and brave enough to protect themselves by numbers alone, or would have to rely partly or chiefly upon natural defensive positions or on fortifications. Another important question to be decided would be the total amount of arable land available for the community. In places where the cultivatable ground is inconsiderable, the houses are generally piled on top of one another or built in the strangest positions in order that the fields may not be encroached upon. In some instances the configuration of the ground has rendered a particular plan necessary. In many cases several of the above considerations have determined the site and arrangement of a village.

Women's quarters.

In one respect all Káfir villages agree with one another and that is in having the women's retreat, or Nirmali-house, placed at some distance from the other habitations. From the position of many of these buildings the inference is irresistible that the villagers are much more anxious to keep the female inmates far removed from the

ordinary dwelling-houses than they are afraid of having them captured by an enemy.

The following are the chief varieties of Káfir villages :—

The fort village is peculiar to the Kátir tribe. In the Bashgul country Ptsigrom in the Skorigul, Pshui, Apsai, Shidgul, and Badamuk are of this kind. These villages are built in an oblong figure, the houses, two or three stories high, surrounding a centre courtyard which is partially occupied by a dancing-place and a rude altar, while the dancing-house or gromma, which is used in the winter and in bad weather, is close by. The exterior of such a village offers to an enemy an unbroken front, as all the windows of the rooms looking outwards are very small. There is usually only one entrance gate, or at most two, in which case the second not unfrequently, as at Badamuk, leads into dark passages difficult to penetrate at any time without a guide. The main entrance is capable of being quickly and effectively closed. Such villages are usually built on the bank of a river flowing through the Káfir equivalent for a plain. When besieged the inhabitants obtain their water from the river by means of a tunnel, which leads from the central courtyard to the river's edge, and ends in a covered way made of roughly hewn timbers. These fort villages contain from 120 to 200 different families, and are all greatly overcrowded. The houses which form the four sides of the oblong figure have low cellars like chambers underneath them, into which sheep, goats, and cattle are driven when an attack is imminent. The corners of the village are generally strengthened by towers, and at Badamuk and other places, where there are steep slopes in close proximity, one or two detached three-storied towers are built up the hillside as an additional security. A great deal of wood enters into the construction of these villages. On the courtyard side the dwellings or rooms are often furnished with verandahs or wooden galleries open in front, the uprights and frames of which are often rather effectively carved in the ordinary basket-work pattern, or with purely conventional heads of animals. The different floors of a house are reached by solid ladders, that is to say by planks shaped by the axe alone, and deeply notched at proper intervals for the feet. The quaint carvings, and the irregular outline of the inner aspect of the houses caused by the verandahs or galleries, render these villages somewhat picturesque, but they are grimed black with smoke, the open spaces are littered with the bones and horns of animals killed for food, and the general appearance is squalid and depressing, while the stench is sometime hardly bearable. The cellars or half subterranean stables already mentioned are used in peace-time as latrines. The odoriferous pine leaves with which they are littered do but little to disguise the fact. These chambers are only cleared out when manure is wanted for the fields.

(1.) The fort village.

Good examples of this form of construction are found at Purstám, Bajindra, and Gourdesh. The houses at Purstám are clustered together on the east face of a steep detached rock, inaccessible from every other direction. The lowest habitations are on the bank of a side branch of the Bashgul river. The road up the rock between the houses is extremely steep. Half way up is the gromma or dancing house with its wooden platform adjoining. Bajindra is one of the most curious villages in Káfiristán. At that place advantage has been taken of the flat upper surface of a huge detached piece of rock, and upon it some thirty different domiciles have been crowded and super-imposed, the one on the other. The only way to reach the houses is by a bridge which connects the village with the hillside behind. This bridge can be easily broken away, and then the houses are absolutely inaccessible. The drawback to the position is that the river is a little distance away and there is no other water supply for the people. There are two or three little hamlets in the Skorigul built precisely after the fashion of Bajindra on fragments of rock, but they are all on the river bank by the water's edge. The village of Gourdesh is a densely populated cluster of some twenty-five houses, built on the knife-edge of a rocky spur which projects into the Gourdesh valley, and compels the river to flow in a pear-shaped course round its base. This spur, 200 or 300 feet high, is precipitous except at its point of connexion with the main range of hills, where there is a watch tower, and where the village can be easily defended. To enable all the houses to perch on the rocky ledge many ingenious contrivances have had to be adopted. In some instances the verandahs or wooden galleries are supported on long wooden pillars, the bases of which fit into crevices in the rock. An additional appearance of insecurity has been produced in some places where the sustaining pillars, having proved too short, have been supplemented by the placing of smooth water-worn stones beneath them. The insecurity

(2.) Villages built on defensive positions.

of this arrangement is, however, more apparent than real, for experience has taught the Káfirs so much skill in the management of weights that even the most fragile structures they erect rarely, if ever, collapse. Villages like Gourdesh cannot possibly grow larger, and in consequence they are greatly over-populated.

(3.) Populous villages.

Places like Kámdesh, Bagalgrom, and Bragamatál (Lutdeh) depend for their protection on the strong arm of a numerous population rather than on fortifications or the happy selection of a good defensive site. Any detached towers which such villages may possess are more for use as watching places than for defensive purposes, although they are capable of being employed for the latter purpose also. In some portions of Kámdesh the houses are built in regular terraces, which rise one above the other like a giant's staircase, or they are made to overhang steep drops or low precipices. They are likewise crowded into many awkward and inconvenient positions with the obvious intention of not curtailing or interfering in any way with the cultivation. In many other villages the same cause and the same result are seen to a very much greater extent. Kámdesh, Bagalgrom, and that portion of Bragamatál which is on the right bank of the river, are built on no regular pattern, houses being erected wherever there is room for them. The left bank part of Bragamatál is laid out in the form of half a regular hexagon open towards the south. The enclosed space is occupied by the gromma and dancing platform, and by detached clusters of houses.

(4.) Walled villages.

The only regularly walled villages with which I am acquainted are in the Presungul. Their general construction is as follows. The houses are packed together on and in the substance of a mound or rounded hillock. Many of the rooms are underground. At the foot of the slope a short distance away there is a protecting wall topped with brushwood. At Pushkigrom, the lowest village in the valley, the arrangement is somewhat different. There the houses are built on a slope which is surmounted by watch towers from which extend walls which run down to and encircle the houses. This surrounding wall is strengthened with barricades at different points, and looks fairly strong.

(5.) Underground villages.

There are some villages in Káfristán which are both small and defenceless, and are also easily accessible. From such places the inhabitants must bolt at once if a formidable enemy makes his appearance. There are others which could be defended if the people were brave, *e.g.*, Kstigigrom in the Presungul. There, however, the villagers prefer to retire to a large cave overlooking their homes, where they cannot be followed. From that safe and elevated position they have more than once watched their houses being sacked and burnt. Other small villages seem to find a sense of security in the fact that they are more or less hidden away in the hills or up difficult and unpromising ravines. Of these, as of all other villages in Káfristán, it may be said that they find their chief protection in the easily defensible nature of the main roads of the country.

HOUSES AND OTHER BUILDINGS.

The one-room house.

The simplest form of house consists of one apartment, oblong or square in shape, and measuring some 18 by 18 or 18 by 20 ft. It is usually well built of cedar timber and rubble stones embedded in mud mortar. The timbers fashioned with the axe alone and roughly morticed together at the angles of the building, form a series of wooden frames upon and between which the masonry is built. These wooden frames are about nine inches apart. The thickness of the walls is about five inches. They are well plastered with mud both inside and out, and are strong and durable. There are sometimes two doors but usually only one. The door is a solid piece of wood, shaped by the axe alone. There are no hinges, but small projections from the upper and lower edges are made to revolve in sockets in the door frame. The Káfir slaves, if we consider the indifferent tools at their disposal, are extremely clever at carpentry. In addition to the door or doors there is often a little window also. It is usually 15 or 18 ins. square, and is closed by a wooden shutter revolving on pivots. The doors are fastened by a wooden bolt, which is made to run easily in a groove cut in the solid substance of the door, and thence into a socket in the door frame. The bolt has vertical notches all along one side. Just above the groove in which it works is a small round hole in the substance of the door. This is the key-hole. The key is a piece of iron wire, about the thickness of the top of the little finger, and more than a foot long. It is bent back in such a way that it is somewhat of the shape of a pot-hook, and can

be pushed through the key hole, and then if it is turned downwards the end can be made to catch in the slots in the bolt, and the latter can be pushed back, and the door opened. Sometimes, however, it is a very tedious operation to get the end of the iron wire to catch in the notches of the bolt. I have often watched a tired-out woman come home from field work and spend a wearisome time before she could get the arrangement to work. When my own bolt proved recalcitrant I was accustomed to solve the problem by lowering some small boy into the room through the smoke-hole to open the door from the inside.

In the centre of every room at each corner of the square hearth are four wooden pillars, which are often elaborately carved. These pillars are usually between 5 ft. and 6 ft. apart, and are either rounded or more or less square in shape. Their diameter varies from 9 ins. to 15 ins. From the lateral walls of the apartment two large beams cross over, and are mainly supported on the top of the hearth pillars. Centre-pillars.

Boards covered with beaten down earth form the roof, but they do not fit accurately, so that snow, water, and rain find easy access into the room. The only way to minimise this discomfort is to keep adding earth to the roof, and to get it beaten down or trampled by men or goats. The roof is the worst feature of all Káfir houses. As they are all made in the way described and are all flat, there is not one which is even moderately watertight. It is necessary that they should be flat, for contiguous roofs form, perhaps, the only level spaces which can be found in some villages, where corn can be winnowed or thrashed, or fruit be spread out to dry. The roof.

The smoke-hole is over the middle of the hearth. It is usually about a foot square, and has enclosing boards which project a few inches above the level of the roof. It is closed by a flat board, with a long handle in the middle, being placed over it. The long handle hangs down into the room, whence it can be pushed up, and the smoke-hole opened. The hearth square in the centre of the room is raised a few inches above the level of the surrounding floor, and like the latter is made of beaten earth. There is some special sanctity connected with the hearth, for although slaves may cross the threshold of the priest's house, they may on no account approach the hearth. The height of a room does not exceed seven or eight feet. The smoke-hole.

The foregoing description applies to the house of an average poor Káfir of the Bashgul valley. In such an apartment he brings up his family. There would probably be also a stable or rough kind of shed, leaning against one wall of the house, and more or less completely closed in by mud walls, or by screens made by twisting twigs together. This shed would be used as a latrine.

A better kind of house in the Bashgul valley consists of two stories, the upper part being reserved for the dwelling place, while the lower half is used as a cow stable or a wood store. The best built habitations in the Bashgul Valley are those used by the wealthy Káfirs of the Kám tribe. Such dwellings consist of three stories. The top floor is the living place, the middle story is the store room, while the bottom room is employed as a cow stable or wood store in the winter, and a latrine at all times. In this variety of house a verandah is almost always projected from the top story. These verandahs, or open wooden galleries are well made structures, closed on all sides except in front. They are frequently elaborately ornamented with carving. The projecting floor of the verandah is supported on long wooden pillars, the lower ends of which are securely kept in their proper position on the ground by the nicety with which the weights above are adjusted. The roof of the verandah is upheld by the wooden framework of the structure, and by a row of pillars which run down the centre of the floor. Frequently all the pillars and the front of the verandah are prettily carved, and its roof beams, which are allowed to project a foot or more beyond the walls, are fashioned at the ends into effective, if grotesque, animals' heads. Houses of the better class.

In the Katir part of the Bashgul Valley the houses are, on the whole, distinctly inferior to those of the Kám tribe, for instance. This is more particularly the case in the fort villages, where the exigencies of space require that each floor, consisting of verandah and living room, shall house an entire family. But, however the rooms may be arranged, and however large or small a house may be, the principle on which it is built remains the same. It is either one cubical apartment, or several superimposed, and with or without verandahs. Katir houses.

The houses of the Presun or Viron Káfirs differ in many respects from those already described. Perhaps the most obvious and striking peculiarity of the Viron houses is that their accommodation is principally underground. This arrangement is more Houses of the Presun Káfirs.

particularly noticeable in the upper, and consequently colder, part of the valley. In that position, also, wood being scarce, it is sparingly used in the construction of the walls. The timbers are not shaped with the axe, as in the Bashgul valley, but are used in the form of round poles. The large proportion of mud and rubble to timber gives the houses a somewhat badly built appearance. There are no verandahs to break the ugly lines of the buildings. In the lower part of the valley at Pushkigrom, wood is abundant, and the domiciles are built almost exclusively of round poles, very little masonry being used in their construction. The villages themselves are either built on a hillock or on a slope. There is one exception to this rule in the case of the village called Diogrom, which is on level ground close by the river. In the villages of the upper part of the valley, those parts of the houses above ground are very low and the doorways which open on to the lanes, are rarely more than 3 ft. 6 ins. or 4 ft. high. The houses are packed together closely, and the paths between them are hardly wide enough for a man with moderately broad shoulders. Many of the houses have three apartments, one below the other; one being half underground, and the other two completely so. I carefully examined the house of the Shtevgrom priest. From the roadway, a 3 ft. 6 ins. doorway opened on to a short ladder, by which the floor of the dwelling-room was reached. That apartment was 20 ft. square, but only 7 ft. high. The roof was supported by numerous pillars, all of which were grotesquely carved into a supposed resemblance to gods or goddesses. Four pillars carved with more than usual care, bounded the hearth in the ordinary way. Each was made to resemble, more or less, a man on horseback. The horseman was given an enormous face, shield-shaped, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by 10 ins. at the broadest part, the brows. The chin was not more than an inch and a half from the top of the diminutive horse's head. The rider's left hand rested on the horse's neck. What at first sight looked like an enormous ear, turned out to be the horseman's right arm grasping a weapon. The tiny animal itself was given a little stand, such as a toy horse has. The nose of the effigy was scored by parallel lines, intersected at right angles by similar parallel lines. All the other pillars in the room were similarly carved into grotesque male or female forms, except that they were not provided with horses. Above the hearth, which was 7 ft. square, there was a wooden structure 4 ft. square, which projected above the level of the roof about 4 ft. This was roofed, and in one corner of it there was a smoke-hole 1 ft. square. This peculiar chimney arrangement is very common in Presungul. From the dwelling room a ladder led into a lower apartment, which was not more than 5 ft. in height. There was yet another room, lower still, which was reached in a similar way. There it was possible to stand upright. From this lowest apartment a tunnel ran under the village wall to the river bank. A second tunnel which I was solemnly informed had been originally constructed by Yush (the Devil), burrowed under the village tower or citadel.

A Káfir tower.

A Káfir tower used for watch and ward is from one to four stories in height. It is of square shape, and commonly 10 ft. by 10 ft. The door is always some considerable height above the ground, and is reached by a ladder, which can be drawn up in time of need, when the men inside are completely out of reach. The floor of each of the upper stories has a large square aperture in the middle, and each is usually provided with a ladder. The top of the tower, the three or four feet which constitute the parapet, is a little wider than the rest of the building, and projects about a foot outwards on every side. At the foot of this parapet are a series of holes all round, which enable the defenders to see clearly all the walls of the tower, and to command its base. Such structures are sprinkled all over the country, and are, as a rule, extremely well built.

The dancing place and gromma.

The dancing place is always the most important spot in a Káfir village. There is usually only one, but Kámdesh and Bragamatál have two each. A dancing place should consist of a house to be used in winter and in bad weather; a boarded platform, which, if the level ground available is very limited, as is commonly the case, often projects from a slope, and is upheld at its outer extremity by long poles; and a level piece of ground, on which particular dances are performed, which is furnished with a rude stone altar. A description of the upper Kámdesh dancing place will also apply, with some modifications, to all similar places in the Bashgul valley. The whole place is called the gromma, a name evidently derived from the word "grom" or "brom," the Bashgul term for a village. A Káfir who had been to India with me always called the gromma the "church" when he spoke Urdu. To the north of the Kámdesh dancing place is the gromma or dancing house. It is 12 ft. high, 35 ft. long, and 30 ft. broad. Its sides are barred, not closed, by heavy square beams, between the intervals of which spectators can thrust their heads and shoulders restfully. During

a spectacle, these apertures are generally crowded with the heads of girls and women. Down the centre of the gromma run two rows of massive pillars, which support the heavy roof. They are about 6 ft. apart. The central four are quite plain, except at the top, where they are ornamented with carved horses' heads. The remaining four are completely covered with the ordinary basket-work carving. In the middle of the roof there is a 4 ft. square smoke-hole. Bordering the gromma to the south is the largest level space in the village. It is about 30 yards square. On it there is a rude altar, formed of two upright stones, with a horizontal one on top. On this altar there is almost always to be seen the remains of a recent fire. To the east this space is continuous with a platform, which is carried out from the steep slope and maintained in that position by wooden pillars and beams. It looks, and is, a shaky structure. A railing runs round its three dangerous sides. Seats are provided on it in the shape of long planks, of comfortable breadth, a few inches off the floor. These platforms are always to be seen if the village is built on the side of a hill. Most of the shrines at Kámdesh are provided with a platform, which only differs from that at the gromma in point of size. In villages built on the flat, such as those in the upper part of the Bashgul Valley, the platforms are lifted off the ground on trestles. They are, indeed, an essential part of every dancing place, because certain ceremonies cannot be performed except on them.

The gromma of a Presun (Viron) village differs considerably from those of the Bashgul Valley. In the first place, they are nearly all of them half underground. That at Diogrom, for example, is like a huge bear-pit, and is reached by long passages sloping down from the village level. They are very large, as they are used for guest houses, and are capable of holding a large number of people. In one corner they generally have a small shrine, containing a quaintly carved idol of some god. The four central pillars are hewn into marvellously grotesque figures, the huge shield-shaped faces of which are more than two feet in length. The arms are made to hang from the line of the brows, while, if a goddess is represented, the long narrow breasts, which look like a pair of supplementary arms, start from between the arms and the brows. There is never any doubt, however, about the sex of an effigy of this kind. The knees of the figures are made to approach one another, while the feet are far apart, as if, indeed, the god or goddess was swarming up the pole backwards.

There is a building peculiar to all Káfir villages. This is the "pshar" or Nirmali house, the lying-in hospital and women's periodic retreat. It is always placed on the outskirts of a village, and not infrequently is outside it altogether. In the Presungul, for instance, at one place it is on the opposite side of the river to the village. In the Bashgul Valley it is usually a very badly built low single square apartment, into the construction of which very little wood enters. It is there distinguished by having two or three sheepskins fastened to a pole and stuck on the roof. It has no windows, and is a squalid looking place, blackened by smoke and disfigured by the abominable sheepskins. In the new hamlets springing up in the Skorigul the pshar is the merest hovel, half underground and yet incompletely sheltered. In the Presungul these retreats are much better built. They are commonly placed near or on the river bank and apparently consist of two or three rooms in a line, the doors all facing towards the water. The unpleasant sheepskins are not employed to indicate the buildings, their peculiar shape and their isolated position being quite sufficient for that purpose.

The Nirmali house.

There is another class of buildings in Káfiristán which so enter into the inner life of the people that they require a full description. These are the "pshals." The word pshal literally means a stable, but it is used by the Bashgul Káfirs to designate their dairy farms, and their grazing grounds, as well as the buildings in which the herdsman confines his flocks and watches them by night. The life of the average well-to-do Káfir is about equally divided between the village and his pshal. Indeed, if he have no brothers or relations or friends in partnership with him, and have no sons or only young ones, he must pass the whole of his time with his flocks, except in the winter, when a patsa or shepherd is usually hired. Some tribes have their winter pshals almost as far away as the summer pshals; the Kám for instance. Others, like the Presuns, have them almost at their doors, where the collection of stables and goatpens is twice as big as the village itself, and to all appearances is just as well built. The Katirs of the Bashgul Valley are in this matter something between the Kám and the Presuns, and have some winter pshals close to the village, and others far away. On the summer grazing-grounds there is every variety of building, from the hut made of a few branches with rough goatpens attached, which is to the commonest form, to the

Pshals.

strongly-built regular pshal, with its artful arrangement of stones on the top, which in the dusk resemble men on the look-out on the roof. Not infrequently the night pens are erected close to a shallow cave or near some shelving rock, which can be partially enclosed by branches and so made into a little dwelling and store place for butter and ghee. The best pshals are, however, permanent structures always, and a great deal of labour and a considerable amount of skill are expended in building them. The winter pshals of the Presuns are somewhat smaller than those of the Bashgul tribes, and are arranged in labyrinths where a man may hide himself in complete security, as I found myself on one occasion. I have passed a good deal of time with the herdsmen of the Kám and Katir tribes, and have spent many days in different pshals. They are generally well-built, practically on the same pattern as the houses, and as in the case of the latter the weak point is the roof, which lets snow water and rain through it easily. The average size of a pshal is about 20 feet square. It has no ornament of any kind. Inside, raised about three feet from the ground, there are usually platforms made of and closed by wattles. These are for the kids. In another part of the interior, also raised some feet above the floor, is the common couch for the shepherds and their visitors. It is made of light branches and is sufficiently elastic to vibrate under the weight of a man. In the winter several men and women all sleep together on one of these couches, which are about 9ft. long by 6ft. broad. In the summer the women having the field work to do rarely visit the distant pshals, except to carry flour and other provisions to their relatives. Underneath the raised structures referred to, during the night, more than 100 goats, without counting the kids, are often packed just before it gets dark. The coughing and restless moving about of the animals, the bleating of the kids, with the stagnant odorous atmosphere, make a night in a pshal an experience not readily to be forgotten. There is a large fireplace in one corner which in the winter always contains a blazing fire, in front of which the Káfirs sit cooking their food and talking cheerily till bedtime. Just outside the pshal there is always a huge heap of brown aromatic ordure which is increased every morning after the daily sweepings.

The cows are mostly kept in the villages during the winter for protection, and stall feeding, but if a man have large herds he only brings some half dozen or so to the village, and keeps the rest at different pshals. Their stables are similar to those used for the goats and sheep, except that the internal arrangements are different. The calves are kept apart in little enclosures which run down all one side of the building. The top of the main partition is composed of a long plank or two or more joined end to end. It is on this that the patsas sleep. It is amusing to go into one of these cow-stables on a winter night during the absence of the herdsman. The animals appreciate the fire and stand warming their tails in front of it in a comically human fashion. At the pshala Káfir is always on the look-out for thieves and enemies day and night. He never takes off his dagger, even at night, and during the day may constantly be seen watching his property fully armed with matchlock and other weapons.

HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES.

Cooking
utensils.

In many Káfir houses a large heavy shelf five or six feet from the ground runs across the room and rests against the wall opposite to the door. It is embedded in the substance of the building: it is some two feet broad, and two and a half or three inches thick. One or two small pegs are knocked into the mud walls and serve as nails on which small articles may be hung. On the hearth there is either an iron tripod or three small carved dogs of soft stone on which cooking vessels may be placed. The iron tripod is somewhat of a luxury as iron is an expensive commodity and is not produced in Káfistán. The stone dogs are very commonly seen, but in the poorest houses the people have to be content with fragments of rock to boil their pots upon. The cooking vessels are either made of clay or of a peculiar soft stone obtained in various places in the country. For all ordinary purposes crocks are used. The other variety is inconvenient except for big feasts. The stone vessels are always of large size and are said to be very expensive. I was told that they were worth one cow each, but that was probably an exaggeration. A large convex iron plate somewhat like a Scotch girdle, but rather larger and without the big handle, is used for cooking chappaties, (unleavened bread cakes.) It has a small iron handle fixed to the edge to enable it to be carried about conveniently. To turn over the cakes while they are cooking small iron spuds are employed. Dough is kneaded in long and shallow wooden trays, which look smooth

and well finished although axes or knives are alone used in making them. Carved wooden vessels of all sizes are used to hold milk, honey, wine, and other articles of food or drink. They are more or less cylindrical in shape and are nearly as deep as their greatest diameter, which is about midway between the top and the bottom. An extraordinary amount of labour is sometimes expended in carving these vessels. They are sometimes adorned with pretty patterns and are generally provided with two handles placed opposite to each other. These are usually wrought into the shape of rams' heads. Occasionally a few fragments of brass are inlaid in the handles. Some are quite plain, except for the carved handles, but the majority have a band of carving extending an inch or two below the brim. They are made by laboriously cutting them out of blocks of walnut wood. The ornamenting must be a labour of love, so prettily and carefully is the work done. Some of these vessels are very graceful in outline.

Large plain wooden tub-like vessels are to be seen in most well-to-do houses. They are capable of holding several gallons of wine and other fluids. At large gatherings they are placed in convenient positions for having their contents dipped into, and handed round in bowls and drinking cups. Clumsy long-handled cups are used for skimming cooking pots and tasting the stew. Wine is sometimes handed round in shallow tin bowls, but these are rare as compared with those made of walnut wood. Flour and small quantities of grain are carried about in shallow wicker baskets of which the diameter rapidly diminishes from the brim to the small flat base. These baskets are of different sizes and are used as measures. Store vessels.

The fire is usually tended by hand, but the Káfirs have small weak tongs, besides certain nondescript fragments of iron, by which the ashes can be raked and explored. Usually, however, sticks or half-consumed brands are employed for the purpose. Káfir fire-irons.

The ordinary furniture of a room consists of bedsteads, stools, and little tables, while planks are often employed as benches. When used for that purpose they are raised three or four inches off the ground by stones, for Káfirs dislike high seats almost as much as they dislike the absence of seats altogether. These benches are usually seen in verandahs. In a room, if there is a deficiency of stools, men sit upon billets of wood, two or three inches thick, or on pieces of firewood. Fixed furniture.

The bedstead is of the common eastern pattern, similar to the charpoy of India. It is usually too short for Western tastes. It is of rough construction, but is not uncomfortable. The wooden framework supports the interlacing strips of narrow hide or the goat's-hair ropes on which the sleeper lies. The bedding consists of goat's-hair mats or Presungul blankets and whatever spare clothes are available for such purposes. There are no pillows of any kind. Káfirs do not undress on going to bed. They loosen their clothes and in the villages the men take off their daggers. At the pshals they merely draw them to the front so that they lie between the legs. The bedstead is used as a couch for distinguished visitors, the national broad edged budzun, a Chitrál robe, or a blanket being spread upon it. Although intended as a seat of honour it is best avoided, as it usually swarms with vermin. At a pshal I have been provided with a bear-skin to sleep upon. One experience of that kind was enough. If a traveller has not a singularly tough skin, clean ground is greatly to be preferred. A baby's cradle is simply a diminutive charpoy turned upside down and swung by having the four legs attached by string to a hanging rope. When the child is a little older the cradle can be reversed and turned into a small ordinary bedstead. The bedstead.

The tables used by the Bashgul Káfirs are of wicker-work. They are small and not more than 10 ins. to 12 ins. high. The round tops are about 15 ins. in diameter. They are contracted in the middle and exactly resemble the little stands used by sweetmeat sellers in India. An extremely well-made little table is occasionally seen in the Bashgul villages. It is manufactured by the Wai tribe. The three legs are of iron curiously wrought. They clasp and hold in position a shallow carved walnut-wood bowl. This little table is about 20 ins. high, and appears to be of Greek design. It is rigid, however, and is not made in such a manner that the legs can be folded up. Tables and stools.

The stools for which Káfristán is famous are small, but of varying degrees of smallness. They are made in the same way as the bedsteads, but are square. The seat is about 15 ins. both ways, and is commonly made of interlacing narrow strips of leather. It is usually about 9 ins. from the ground. All Káfir houses possess a certain number of these little stools. They are also used to a limited extent in the Kunar Valley by the Gabar villagers and others.

The
"sheni."

The large oblong box called the "sheni," besides being used as a coffin, is also employed as a receptacle for the storage of grain and other property. My dwelling room at Kámdesh possessed two of these somewhat depressing-looking objects. The shenis are always long enough for a corpse, but are not all of the same size. Some are very large; all are heavy. The average size is probably 6 ft. to 7 ft. long, 2 ft. 6 ins. broad, and some 3 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. high. They are made with axe and knife alone. The sides, ends, lid, and bottom are neatly fitted together by a shaped projection from one board passing through a hole in another board and secured with a peg. The ends serve the place of feet, the bottom board being fixed to the end boards 5 ins. or 6 ins. from its lower end. By this means the box is raised off the ground. It is, of course, far too heavy to be carried about. The various boards of which it consists are carried separately and the whole fitted together in the house. After serving its purpose as a store chest it can be taken to the shenitán or cemetery and used as an above-ground coffin.

Cupboards
and other
receptacles.

On the rare occasions when I have been permitted to enter a store room in Káfiristán I have more than once noticed a cupboard fixed on a shelf some distance from the floor. It was like a small sheni. The front was provided with two equal-sized folding doors prettily carved.

The other receptacles for food stores are large stone or wooden vessels which are ranged along the shelf already referred to as being opposite to the door, and goat-skin bags and sacks. Wine, honey, butter, ghee, grain, are all kept in goat skins of appropriate size. Some of the sacks are so large that when full of grain or flour they constitute a heavy load for a strong man. If all his store places are full a Káfir is not particular where he keeps his property. I have been to visit a sick old man and found the floor of his room covered with cobs of Indian corn to the depth of a foot. The legs of his bed were fitted into cleared spaces, and the cobs around him were nearly on a level with the bed itself.

SECTION VI.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENT.

Káfir cloth-
ing in
general.

With the exception of very young children, none of the Káfirs go naked. The sexes are clothed differently, although they have one garment in common. Rank is usually indicated by the ear ornaments worn by the men, and not by dress. Clothing is varied but slightly, and in the case of women not at all, in accordance with the season of the year. For special festivals particular costumes are worn, or elaborate additions are made to the ordinary attire.

There are distinct sumptuary laws relating to clothing. The Afghán "postin" seems to be prohibited altogether, but, with that exception, the rule seems to be that within certain limits any man may wear what he chooses, provided that he first obtains the sanction of his fellow tribesmen by feasting them. For instance, one man I knew wore red trousers at particular dancing festivals. Although a good warrior, he was not particularly distinguished above his fellows in that respect. He presented six cows to the village, and was then permitted to wear the bright coloured garments he longed for, of which, by the way, he always seemed particularly shy, and invariably covered as much of them as possible with his long Chitráli robe.

Different tribes have recognised peculiarities of dress. In some cases these differences are slight, in others they are remarkable. All the tribes that use dark coloured garments appear to wear nearly identical clothing, while the other tribes have distinctive costumes.

Woollen cloth is manufactured in Káfiristán. All cotton clothing, and all silk, velvet, and so on, used for the making of the headmen's dancing dresses are imported. The thick blanketing used is woven on looms by female slaves. There appears to be nothing of the nature of what we call fashion. The clothes are shaped and sewn. There is no difference between indoor and outdoor clothing. No clothing is removed in saluting, or in visiting. In making vestments and women's caps, ordinary needles and thread brought into the country by pedlars are employed. All sewing is done by the men. The gaudy dancing dresses are looked upon as valuable property, and descend from father to son, although a certain amount, I believe, is put in the coffin boxes with the corpses. There is no particular uniform worn by fighting

men or by the priests, but the latter have a wisp of common cloth twisted round the head coronet-wise, or they use some other kind of distinctive head dress.

A man who has killed a certain number of enemies, not less than four or five, is permitted to use the blue turban taken from a dead Musselman, as a shawl or wrapper. The long narrow turban cloth is cut in half, and the halves sewn together side by side, so as to give a shawl of the necessary breadth. The men are very proud of wearing these sheet-like wrappers, and stalk about in them in a highly dignified way.

The great majority of the male Káfirs wear nothing whatever on the head, either in summer or in winter. When it is very cold or very hot they protect the head and face with anything they may have. There seems to be no prohibition against wearing head coverings, but they can only be obtained with great difficulty. A favourite headdress is the soft roll-up Chitráli cap. This can be worn in all but the hottest weather, and is soft and comfortable, but it is practically only obtainable by the Bashgul Valley Káfirs, and only by a small proportion of them.

To speak generally, the women are well and sufficiently clothed. The legs are often encased in gaiters, and the feet covered with soft reddish leather boots, according to the time of year, the nature of their work, and so on, but more often than not they go about with bare legs and feet.

Having spoken generally of the clothing of the Káfirs I must now enter into particulars. It will be convenient first to describe the dress of those tribes who, from their custom of wearing sombre-hued garments, are often included under the name of Siah-Posh Káfirs. The tribes include all those who inhabit the Bashgul Valley; the Katirs, the Kám, the Mádugál, the Kashtán, and the Gourdesh, as well as those branches of the great Katir tribe who live in the western valleys which run down from the Hindu Kush, and are known respectively as the Kti, the Kulam, and the Rámgul or Gabarik Káfirs. Subsequently, the dress of the Wai and of the Presungul Káfirs will be described.

Dress of the
Siah-Posh.

The simplest and commonest form of dress of the Siah-Posh—of the males that is to say—is the goat skin. It is worn by boys, and by poor men, at all times. It is also used by the great majority of all classes of the people when engaged in raiding, or hunting, or when herding or watching their flocks. In the villages, only those in poverty appear in this dress, except on the death of a near relative, when it is assumed as a mourning garb. When employed in this way it is merely thrown across the shoulders over whatever other clothes are being worn. The goat skin is a shapeless wrapper, girdled at the waist by a leather strap. It only partially covers the neck and chest, and in men reaches about half way down the thigh. In extreme cold a cape of the same material is added, and rough sleeves also, which are sewn into the body portion by huge stitches an inch or an inch and a half long, made by boring holes, and then passing a stout thread through them. Imperfect as must be the protection which this primitive garment affords against rigorous cold, I have frequently seen Káfirs on the war-path or during hunting expeditions trudge through the snow with no other clothing, except, perhaps, goatshair gaiters and boots. Owing to its scanty dimensions, and also on account of the defective method employed in curing hides, which leaves them stiff and unmanageable, it is difficult for a man to arrange his goatskin decently when he sits down for formal conversation, while in climbing trees he has necessarily to abandon decency altogether, and is compelled to expose his nakedness like a monkey. However, in villages it is comparatively rare to see men, even slaves, wearing this garment, except with cotton trousers as well.

The goat-
skin.

Although, as we shall presently see, there is a thick, blanket-like cloth made in Káfiristán, yet fragments of goat skin are almost invariably employed for all the various purposes for which pieces of cloth are usually required; such, for instance, as to make small bags, to bind up wounds or sore places, or to protect broken limbs from injury by the sustaining splints. Infants are also carried about wrapped up in portions of goatskin. The fashion is to wear the hairy side of the goatskins outside, indeed, in rain or snow it would be the only way to prevent the leather from spoiling. But in severe, dry cold, the hairy side is sometimes worn inside.

Another strictly national garment of the Siah-Posh Káfirs is called the "budzun," in the Kám tribe. It is worn by all females, and by many men as well. Its colour is a very dark brown; its shape is peculiar. On a woman it reaches from the neck to the knees and covers the shoulders, but leaves the neck and a wedge-shaped portion of the upper part of the back uncovered. This particular form of the back part of the garment permits the head of a baby carried at the back inside the dress in the usual Káfir way, to protrude into the daylight; yet there is no difference between the

The
"budzun."

budzun as worn by the men, who never carry children in this way, and that worn by the women. The budzun opens all down the front. The men rarely confine it at the waist, but generally wear it thrown loosely over the shoulders. The women, on the other hand, always keep it closely and decently adjusted to the body; they usually fasten it about the level of the breast by a large brass pin, or with an iron substitute that looks like a small packing needle, and at the waist, by a long, dark red, flat girdle about an inch and a quarter broad ending in black or red tassels. The bottom of the dress has a regularly wavy outline, and is edged with red. The most striking peculiarity of the shape of the budzun is the way in which the absence of sleeves is compensated for by the large flaps which overhang the armholes. These give the female wearer, when seen from the front or from one side, the look of a person attired in an Inverness cape. The Siah-Posh Káfirs of the western valleys, have proper sleeves to the budzun, which in all other respects resembles the Bashgul garment, except that it is slightly lighter in colour, while the edging is different in tint, and is narrower. The women bunch up their budzuns through the girdle, and in the receptacles thus formed, carry various articles such as walnuts, food, and similar small articles.

A Bashgul woman's mourning garment is simply a tattered budzun, worn cloak-fashion over her every-day dress, and a special cotton head dress, which will be referred to when we deal with funeral customs.

If we put aside those articles of attire which are used merely for ornament, there is no other clothing I am acquainted with which is made in Káfiristán from materials manufactured in the country itself, except the caps of the women, their leggings, the soft red leather boots worn by both sexes, and the goat's hair gaiters and footcoverings worn by the men when travelling through the snow.

Sewing.

All the sewing seems to be done by the men, who may often be noticed leisurely at work on the small cotton caps worn by the women. Old men often used to come to sit with me, and frequently brought their "work" with them. I have also seen a party of old men seated in a room where there was a dying girl, for whom they were busily employed in making grave clothes. Distinguished warriors who are also dandies are permitted to have their shirts rather prettily embroidered in colours, both back and front. One of these young braves once told me with a chuckle, that the personal badge he himself wore had been worked by a "yar" (*i.e.* friend), mentioning another man's wife, but I never myself saw a woman using a needle.

Women's
cotton
clothes.

The women's cotton clothes consist of a cap and of an under garment. The latter, however, is only worn by the females of comparatively wealthy families. The cap is a square piece of cotton cloth, folded in and sewn at the corners, so as to form a square headdress about an inch and a half high. It is worn at the back of the head. Below the Katir part of the Bashgul Valley the cap is assumed by all women immediately on attaining the age of puberty, and is worn on all occasions except at particular festivals and religious ceremonies, when the peculiar horned headdress is used. Among the Katir tribes the custom is different. The horned cap is worn in the fields, and for all out-door occupations, while the cotton head gear is reserved for the house after the day's work is done. The assumption of a headdress marks the age of puberty; before that event occurs, the girls simply bind the head with a double string, occasionally ornamented behind with flat, button-like silver beads, at the level of the brows.

The cotton under garment or shift is of the same length as the budzun, or a little longer; it often shows an inch or so below the woollen tunic. It is provided with sleeves, and is often rather prettily embroidered at the edges with blue. Poor women can never afford this luxury, so that in the fields under a blazing sun they must always work in their heavy hot clothing, while their more fortunate sisters can slip off the budzun down to the waist, and still be sufficiently protected by the cotton undergarment. Káfir women, though anything but moral in their conversation and behaviour, are never indecent in their clothing.

The horned
head-dress.

The horned head-dress is a very peculiar article of attire. It consists of a pad six inches broad from front to back, made of hair covered with black net. This pad rests on the top of the head. From each side, in front, project upwards and outwards two horns about seven inches long. From the base of these front horns, two others run backwards and downwards over the pad, parallel to each other, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart, tapering slightly to a blunt point. All the horns are about an inch in diameter at the base, and are made of the same material as the pad. At the front of the pad, resting on the brow of the woman, is an ornamented square iron bar five inches in length, and

about a third of an inch in thickness; and immediately below this is a spiral iron ornament, three inches and a half from side to side, and one inch in diameter. Some of the coils are round, others are flat. The latter have rough designs punched on their outer surface. Running backwards on the top of the pad, there is another iron ornament lighter and smaller than that for the brow. It is about two inches long and half an inch in diameter. To the end of this are attached four or five common brass thimbles and perhaps a coloured bead or two, and then a couple of brass spirals which look like springs, three or four inches long, finished off at the lower end by two or three more brass thimbles with round brass bells fastened inside them. At the base of the front horns, two or three cowrie shells are often sewn on as an additional ornament. I have seen on the brass thimbles short English inscriptions, such as "For a good girl." These were the only printed or written words I ever found in Káfiristán. The western Siah-Posh women wear an identical head-dress, except that it is narrower and the front horns are much shorter; not more than half the length of those worn by the women of the Bashgul valley. These short horns sometimes peep out from a covering of cotton cloth enveloping the whole head dress. The back horns are also comparatively small. One woman I saw had ornamented her cap with a string of cowrie shells twisted round the base of the front horns. In the Katir district of the Bashgul Valley, the peculiar appearance of these horned head dresses is often enhanced by the custom many women adopt of slipping cotton bags over the horns to keep them from dust and damp. The material for the horned caps is made by female slaves on very light looms, constructed of a kind of cane. The entire apparatus is easily held between the knees, and the weaving is done by the fingers exclusively. A slave informed me that the net-like cloth thus manufactured, is also useful for protecting the eyes from snow blindness.

The gaiters worn by the women are made of precisely the same material as the budzun. They extend from just below the knee to the ankle. They have a reddish stripe along the vertical edges, to which are fastened strings for keeping them in position. There seems to be no rule about wearing these rough, coarse, woollen gaiters. In hot weather they are rarely seen, while even when it is cold, many young women seem to prefer marching and working without them.

Gaiters of the women.

The boots made for the Káfirs by the slaves are of soft reddish leather, reaching to the ankles, and are fastened by leather thongs. They are highly esteemed by the surrounding Musselman tribes, and are often given by a Káfir to his Mahomedan friend or "brother." They are by no means uncomfortable to wear for short journeys, but for long distances they are insufficient protection to unhardened western feet. The Káfir methods of curing leather are defective, and, as a result, their boots cannot be worn when it is raining and have to be taken off and carried whenever the ground is wet from overflow from irrigation channels, or for any other reason. For the snow the Káfirs cover the legs and feet with a thick material woven from goats' hair, which has the especial advantage of being warm, while at the same time it is not spoilt by damp.

Káfir boots.

A Káfir youth, starting on an expedition to cross a snow pass or kill markhor, would generally be attired as follows: The head would be covered up with any cloth the sportsman possessed, in addition, perhaps, to the very popular soft brown roll-up Chitráli cap. The body would be clothed in a goat-skin coat, usually open at the neck and leaving the arms bare, but possibly fitted also with a cape and sleeves. A leather belt would not only keep the body garment in position, but would also support, on the right side, the inevitable dagger, and on the left a set of bandoliers having the appearance of Pan pipes. The legs would in all probability be protected by the goats' hair leggings already mentioned, and the feet by coverings of a similar material. In the case of an ordinary poor man, the leg from the middle of the thigh, where the goat skin coat ends, to just below the knee, where the leggings begin, might be altogether bare. The complete dress is somewhat suggestive of that of the Scottish Highlanders. The above articles of attire comprehend all the clothing made by the Siah-Posh themselves. The goat-skins are prepared by anybody. The horned women's caps, the woollen cloth for the budzun and leggings, and the goat-skin gaiters, as well as foot coverings of all kinds, are manufactured by the slaves exclusively; while the cotton clothes and ceremonies are sewn and fashioned by men of all classes.

Hunting dress.

Of imported articles of dress the Káfirs are very fond, the men of the Bashgul Valley favouring Chitráli brown robes and caps, while the western Siah-Posh tribe, and indeed all the Káfirs appear to prize chiefly the black woollen robes made in Minjáu, and no doubt in other places as well. A Siah-Posh Káfir, well dressed, according to his own idea, wears a cotton shirt and trousers, a Chitráli cap on his head, a Chitráli, or similar

Imported dress.

robe flowing from his shoulders ; footless Chitráli stockings and soft red leather Káfir boots ; in short, with the exception of his boots, the whole of his dress is either imported, or made from imported materials.

The budzun, though still worn by a few old Káfirs of conservative instinct, has been almost completely ousted, in the Bashgul Valley at any rate, by the long Chitráli or Minján robes, which are now worn by all those rich enough to wear what they please. The arms are very rarely thrust into the unnecessarily long sleeves of the Chitráli "shukr." The garment is preferably hung loosely on the shoulders, and a characteristic gesture is the one-handed hitch up of the robe by the collar part, (the other hand being usually occupied with the walking club) as a young or youngish Káfir springs out through the doorway of a house, or darts away at the close of an interview. The long arms of the trailing garment are often tied up at the wrists and then used as convenient bags for the reception of small quantities of fruit, grain, flour and so on.

The Káfirs like a certain coarse cotton cloth made and sold to them by their Musselman neighbours, and infinitely prefer this rough variety to the much better specimens I had with me, the product of Indian looms. They maintained that the cotton they procured was both stronger and warmer than mine. The trousers they fashion are short and very wide, while the shirts are worn in the usual oriental way outside, not tucked into the trousers. If a man have only enough cotton cloth to make one garment he uses it for trousers, as then he can wear his goat-skin coat open in the hot weather.

Scarcity of clothing.

It is always a matter of considerable difficulty for Káfirs to get sufficient clothing. Hardly any man has more than one suit of cotton clothes ; so, on the rare occasions on which it is being washed, such for instance as his undertaking a long but peaceable journey, the man has in the meantime to keep very much out of the way, or must appear in public with a Chitráli robe bound lightly round him. On meeting a man thus clad, it would be a relevant and proper thing at once to ask him where he was going, and how many days he expected to remain away. The women generally have but one budzun, after they have arrived at full growth, and their clothing is sometimes desperately tattered and torn, as well as dirty. Many of them, indeed, look as if they were in mourning for deceased relatives, when they are merely in their usual everyday attire. But if the inhabitants of the Bashgul Valley are hard put to it for clothing, the Siah-Posh of the western valleys are frequently in still more desperate straits according to all accounts. One of the commonest reasons for their selling their young female relatives is to procure clothes, so it is said. I have seen several of them who were compelled to substitute for a body garment, a strip of turban or other cloth with a slit in the middle through which the head was thrust, the sides of the body as low as the waist remaining uncovered. For head covering they frequently had a wisp of cloth bound round the brow, for, Chitráli caps being unattainable, they had either to go bareheaded, or bind anything on their heads which was at hand, as the poorer Bashgul Káfirs are also compelled to do ; but with this trifling exception, and in a slight difference in the edging of the budzun, and the presence or absence of sleeves to that garment, there appears to be but little difference in the dress of the different tribes, which collectively constitute the Siah-Posh Káfirs.

Dress of the slaves.

Oddly enough, the slaves are by no means the worst-dressed among Siah-Posh communities. This may be because they are the manufacturers of so much of the clothing worn. A slave cannot be detected by any peculiarity of his attire. His budzun is precisely the same as everybody else's, nor has it any distinctive marks or badges of any kind. Nevertheless, he is usually readily recognisable after a little practice, on account of the more or less degraded type of his features. There is one point, however, about the slaves. I cannot ever remember to have seen one of them wearing a Chitráli or Minjáni robe, or a Chitráli cap, or indeed, any regular head-covering. My recollection may not be accurate, however, as there is no note on the point in my diaries.

Siah-Posh blankets.

The only blankets made by the Siah-Posh are of goats' hair. They may be warm, but look rough and most uncomfortable. Indeed, though used as blankets, and spread as such on beds, they look far more like door-mats.

Winter clothing.

Cold does not seem to affect the Káfirs in any way ; indeed, they are hardly less scantily clad in the winter than in the summer. Except when wearing goat's hair foot coverings, which are hardly ever used in the villages, they discard boots altogether in the snow, lest they should be spoilt, and the men go about bare legged. The women, also, trudge to the water mills with a similar absence of all protection to the legs and

feet. Children used to come to see me, clad merely in short goat skins, open everywhere, except at the waist. Babies are kept warm out-of-doors by tucking them inside the clothes, so that the naked bodies may come into contact.

There is one tribe of Siah-Posh called the Kashtán. They inhabit the village of that name which is close to Kámdesh. They formerly had another village called Dungul in the Dungul Valley, from which they were ejected by the Pathans. It appears that a long time before this event, the Dungul villagers were in great fear of their Pathan neighbours. During the winter months, the Káfirs were so entirely cut off from the rest of the tribe at Kashtán, that, to avoid wounding delicate susceptibilities, they adopted the Pathan dress more or less completely. This compliment failed in securing the desired result, but some of the refugee Dungul women still wear in Káfiristán the ordinary attire of a Mahomedan woman. I think, indeed, that they are rather proud of the distinctiveness it gives them, while one or two incidents have come under my notice which incline me to think that the Bashgul Valley Káfirs, at any rate, certainly admire the blue costumes of the Gabar Mahomedan women of the Kunar Valley.

Dress of the Kashtán.

With the scanty toilette at his disposal it might seem that a Káfir youth of the "masher" type would find small opportunity of satisfying his ideal; but human nature seems to be much the same everywhere, and a blue shirt, or some special mode of wearing his apparel supplies the Káfir dandy with the solace which young men of his age and temperament undoubtedly require. I have watched a youth at the end of a march dress himself in the clothes he had carefully carried over his arm throughout the day. He first went down to the river and washed himself until he was reasonably clean. Then he arranged his long scalp lock with a piece of wood, in place of a comb. The piece of wood was not run through the hair, but the lad tossed his wild, wet locks back with his left hand and then forward on to the stick in alternate motions. Next, taking a pair of footless Chitráli stockings, he drew them on to his legs with great circumspection, and tucked the extremities of his coarse loose trousers into the tops of them. Lastly, he put on his single upper garment, an ordinary shirt-like thing, and fastened his dagger belt round the waist. But this was by no means so simple an operation as it sounds. The shirt, or upper garment, had to be pouched up, so that folds fell in a particular way and the plaits on the hip required to be drawn down tightly, but with regularity and smoothness. When all was finished he strutted about before me taking steps about six inches long.

Toilette of a Káfir "masher."

On account of the sad colours they use, and by reason of the excessive dirtiness of their cotton garments, a Siah-Posh crowd, except when arrayed for a religious dance, presents a sombre and squalid appearance. The women are fantastic without being always picturesque. Separately they are often comical. They sometimes appear as if they were arrayed in an Inverness cape. At other times, from behind, one would imagine they wore a frock coat and boots, an illusion which their somewhat lengthy stride helps to increase. When, startled from field-work while wearing the horned cap, they suddenly look up from a bent posture, their resemblance to some kind of black goat is certainly curious. On the other hand, the sight of a tired woman, with a heavy load in the conical basket on her back, and possibly a lusty infant at her breast, crawling wearily home from work, is very depressing. I believe the black garments of the Siah-Posh are preferred by the people because they hide the dirt and, in wet weather, the filthy water drops from the sooty ceiling, less than lighter coloured clothing would.

Siah-Posh dress in general.

The Presun or Viron people wear a dress entirely different from that of the Siah-Posh. It is made exclusively of thick grey blanketing which has a ribbed appearance. The men wear a kind of wrapper coat with sleeves, confined at the waist with a leather strap supporting the dagger which no Káfir likes to be without. The coat is open in front almost to the middle of the body. It reaches to the knees. Long wide trousers of the same material as the coat cover the legs as far as the ankles. They are folded on themselves, and secured in that position by narrow coloured woollen tape wound round and round the leg, which enables them to be tucked comfortably into the ordinary soft leather boots worn according to circumstances. No head covering of any kind is used except by a few on religious ceremonial occasions.

Dress of the Presuns.

The women wear a kind of skull cap, small and round, which fits on to the back of the head. Girls not yet arrived at puberty, and it is astonishing how old-looking and big some of these girls are, wear merely four large cowrie shells on a string which passes over the crown of the head and behind the ears. The body garment is very long and grey. One might almost call it a gown which reaches to the ankles. Into the back of this garment woollen cloth of a dark brown or even black colour is often

woven. This is done, I was told, to hide the dirt marks caused by sitting on the ground. When it is very cold the women wear a couple or more wrappers. Babies are not tucked into the back of the dress, as is the custom in the Bashgul valley, but are taken care of by little girls who carry them on their backs slung in a small blanket.

There appears to be no cotton cloth in the Presun valley. The clothing of the people is all made by themselves. The thick heavy robes of the women hanging about the legs, cause them to take short mincing steps very different from the more or less manly stride of the Siah-Posh women.

The Presun people use blankets made of the same material as the other clothing. They are some five and a half feet in length, and about four feet wide. They consist of two lateral pieces sewn together with strong rough stitches. They are often elaborately embroidered at the ends in square patterns in blue and red chequers. For their excellent woollen cloth the Presun people are as famous as for their elaborate wood-carving. The heavy loose clothing of the Presun people gives its wearers a certain air of clumsiness which their heavy-looking faces accentuates.

Dress of the
Wai.

A detailed description of the Wai people's dress was unluckily lost with a notebook carried away in a torrent. This loss has to be supplied chiefly from memory, but partly also by a few notes found in my diaries. The Wai men affect white cotton clothes and blue and other colours whenever they can procure them. There is nothing remarkable about the cut of the upper garment or shirt, and the short wide trousers. I well remember three splendid-looking men of this tribe with high aquiline features, marching up the Kámdesh hill with the slow, decided, almost stamping tread of born mountaineers, their shoulders thrown back, their chests expanded, their mouths half opened for easy breathing. They seemed too proud or indifferent to show the slightest curiosity on meeting me. They wore white cotton shirts and trousers, and had blue shawls carried over the shoulders, the weather being hot. I have also seen Wai men on one or two occasions in goat-skin coats, or wrapped in the blue shawls made from Afghán turbans; but I have no recollection of any distinctive thick garment, nor of any peculiar blanket. The women wear, at times at any rate, shallow turbans of white or karki-coloured cloth, with strings of cowries in front of each ear, and necklaces of red and white beads. From the centre of the front of the turban there projects a small red tuft. Their clothing is of light-coloured material, at a short distance they appear to have a body garment, and a skirt reaching to the knee. Coming closer to them the observer perceives that they are hard put to it to procure clothes, and that their light coloured garments are of poor quality. They have a small pad fitted on the lower part of the back, which supports the apex of the conical baskets they use, in which custom they differ entirely from all other Káfir women I have seen.

ORNAMENTS AND DANCING COSTUMES.

It will be convenient to describe ornaments and dancing costumes together. The particular dancing dresses are never used for any except ornamental purposes.

A Jast
hat.

There is one particular crownless hat furnished with a short tail. It is exclusively worn by men, who after much feast-giving are on the point of assuming the earrings which proclaim the fact that they have become Jast, or head-men. This peculiar hat consists entirely of a brim about two and a half inches broad, which is apparently composed of layers of cotton webbing, something like the "Nawar" tape used in India for making beds, except that is only about half as broad. Into the front of this hat, between the layers of the webbing, a sprig of juniper-cedar is thrust, or more than one in the case of men who have been through the Jast ceremony more than once. I believe that this particular hat is never worn at dances. If this is so, it is the only unusual and ornamental article of dress which is not also employed in adding to the spectacle of a religious ceremonial dance.

Dancing
turbans.

Káfirs at their dances, and at no other times, wear turbans. These turbans are generally white, and are tied round the ordinary "kullah," or peaked cap. Being usually somewhat skimpy they require to be adjusted with considerable nicety. Those about to become Jast put aside at dances the crownless hat already described, and replace it with a large turban furnished with a short tail behind, and decorated in front

with a fringe of cowrie shells strung together with red glass beads. Into the front of the turban are fastened sticks tipped with the crest feathers of the manál pheasant, a very popular ornament. Some peacock's feathers we took up from India were greatly admired when used in this decorative way.

Those who are head men are entitled to wear, through the upper edge of the cartilage of the ear, the small silver earrings somewhat resembling a baron's coronet, which almost all Siah-Posh Káfir women possess; while from the lobe of the ear depends a narrow twisted silver bar about two inches long, terminating in a ring two-thirds of an inch in diameter. Those completing the observances required for the rank of headman wear such a complicated collection of brass earrings in addition to the above, that it is impossible to describe them. They look like gigantic Indian puzzle rings open. The neck is not uncommonly encircled by a silver, or what looks like a silver, fluted ornament, solid and heavy like those worn by Hindu women. The wrists may be adorned with brass bracelets rudely stamped with short lines and marks.

The body garment consists of a long flowing robe with sleeves. It reaches to the heels, and has to be tucked up through the iron-studded leather belt or its substitute to prevent the skirt trailing on the ground. Káfirs love to have their robes inordinately long in the skirt and the sleeves so that they may, in one garment, possess as much valuable cloth as possible. The robes are made of Badakhshán silk, sham kin-kob or sultánzari from Peshawer, cotton velvet, or coloured cloth, according to the wealth of the owner. If a dancer possesses more than one of the chappans he will habit himself in two of them at least, leaving a sleeve of the outer one empty and hanging down his back, so that the glories of the robe underneath may not escape attention. He may, in addition, wear a spare piece of silk, or a cloth belt worked with cowrie shells, sash-wise over one shoulder and under the opposite one. The trousers worn are of coarse cotton and are made wide and short. They are often tucked into the pretty Chitráli stockings. Men about to become Jast, wear a special pair of trousers made for the Kám people by the inhabitants of Shál in the Kunar Valley. These trousers are only worn in conjunction with a certain long blue coat reaching to the knees, which hides the nether garments except below the knees, in which portion the latter are prettily embroidered in a black and white chequered pattern. They do not extend as low as the ankles, and have deep lateral slits of four or five inches long at the bottom on both sides.

Dancing robes.

The dancing boots worn both by men and women who have gone through the necessary ceremonies for the rank of Jast are elaborate and peculiar. The part corresponding to the golosh of English boots is ornamented in red and straw-coloured squares, and the whole boot is decorated with red woollen rosettes, while from the long soft drab-coloured uppers, which reach nearly halfway to the knee, depend long fringes of white goat's hair or markhor's hair dyed red at the tips. This fringe falls over the ankle part of the boot, and increases its fantastic appearance. The boots are secured to the legs and ankles by narrow woven tape.

Dancing boots.

The above description applies: 1st, to men of the Jast class, and 2nd, to those completing the observances by which alone this rank can be attained. At the spring religious dances it is this class which supplies the performers almost exclusively, although occasionally young men of good family and renowned in war are invited to supply vacant places in the throng. Each dancer is provided with the peculiar-shaped dancing axe described elsewhere.

But although a head-man may array himself in this fashion for the great festivities in which he occupies so prominent and striking a position there are yet many gradations of style according to the wealth of different individuals, or in ordinary dances according to the tribal *status* of those taking part in them. Some men only add a silk or other turban cloth worn scarf-wise over one shoulder and under the opposite arm. Others may wear as their sole ornament, a kind of fillet, consisting of two rows of flattened half spherical silver buttons behind and at the side, while the part for the forehead and brows is of some black material, or is merely a double string, such as girls wear. Some appear in footless Chitráli stockings as their only additional ornament. Nearly all wear soft leather boots, but a certain number dance in bare feet only.

On certain particular occasions the women actually wear the men's ornamental costumes in addition to their own. On one occasion I arrived at the village of Lutdeh to find that all the men of the district had started for a raid on a neighbouring Káfir tribe. According to custom, the women had abandoned their field work and were

Dancing ornaments of women.

collected in the village dancing day and night to their gods for the success of the expedition. Some of them were arrayed in men's dancing robes worn under the budzun, and only partially displayed by the budzun being slipped off one shoulder and down to the waist. Many brandished daggers or twisted dancing axes; but this was the only occasion on which I witnessed this curious custom.

For ordinary ceremonial and other dances women appear in various degrees of finery. The horned caps already described are sometimes adorned by having a piece of coloured silk or white cloth bound round the front horns.

Large silver blinkers are worn by the lucky few who possess them. They appear to be only permitted to women who bring them as part of their dowry on marriage.

All women wear the serpentine earrings. They are heavy, and depend from the lobe of the ear. A string over the top of the head helps to sustain them. These earrings, like the small coronetted variety, are worn at all times; the blinkers on occasions of great importance only. Women never, I believe, except in such instances as that already mentioned, wear any special garment for dancing; but the budzun is sometimes slipped off one shoulder so as to show the white cotton garment beneath; but even that is unusual. As a rule, only ornaments are worn. Of these the most common are silk or coloured cloth sashes, or else belts studded with cowrie shells, hanging from one shoulder, or perhaps a small turban wound round the waist, on the top of which may very likely be seen rows of cowries prettily worked on cloth; while suspended from its lower edge are a number of metal discs; odd shaped implements like trepanning saws, and hollow metal balls, which clang and clash with each shuffle of the dancer. In front sometimes hang down from the belt a couple of ends covered with cowrie shells. Girls, if adorned at all, merely wear a few cowries and beads, and the ordinary beaded band round the head.

When arrayed for dancing, the women wear their belts so low that their waists appear of a prodigious size. No doubt the Káfirs consider this in itself a point of beauty in a woman. Women who have gone through the regular feast-giving may wear on high occasions the strange hairy dancing boot just as the men do; in other cases they jerk and shuffle about in the ordinary boot of the country, or with bare feet merely. Nobody seems to pay the least attention to the dancing women. They are neither admired nor disparaged. They are simply ignored. At religious dances they move outside the circle of posturing, stamping men, and often seem to have a bad time jammed up between dancers and spectators.

In addition to the more characteristic ornaments worn by Káfirs, there are many others in the shape of cheap rings with imitation stones worth about a penny a dozen, and strings of beads and such like articles which are brought by pedlars from Peshawar and other places. The Wai women have a peculiar kind of earring, large, flat, more or less like a kidney in shape.

Two strange
figures.

In the Presungul one day, while nursing a sprained heel tendon, I saw a man clothed in a long red coat with an Afghan "kullah" and turban. In his hand he carried a long spear, while across his back was a double curved bow and a quiver full of arrows. He stamped along vigorously, making the most of certain bells he had about him, which clanged at every step. He made a profound obeisance at an Imra shrine close at hand, and at once started off again energetically. In my disabled state I was unable to get near enough to him to examine his ornaments. He was the owner of the house which contained the iron pillar, and was travelling down the valley on duty, inspecting all the herds in the country, to select the two fattest cows for sacrifice at Imra's shrine. Another fantastically ornamented figure—the equivalent, I was informed, of the man becoming a Jast in the Bashgul valley—accompanied me on the last march from Presungul to Kámdesh. We were supposed to be "shadowed" at the time, and probably for that reason there is no account of the man's ornaments in my diaries. I only remember that he wore, among many other articles, the kidney-shaped Wai earrings.

SECTION VII.

WOMEN: THEIR POSITION; MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, HOME LIFE.

Position of
women.

Káfir women are practically household slaves. They seem to have no civil rights of any kind. To all intents and purposes they are bought and sold as household commodities. While they are young their life is one of incessant labour and trouble. In most cases the entire work of agriculture is in their hands, as well as all carrying

work, except the very heavy kinds for which they have no strength, such for instance as dragging timbers from the forest for housebuilding operations. Probably for the same reason the men alone do the threshing of the corn. Women are rarely actively illused; they are merely despised. The only females who receive any share of respect are the aged, the mothers and the grandmothers of the tribe. They, especially if they have been through the Jast ceremonies, do receive a certain amount of consideration. Young women are of course sought after by the men, who are ever ready to indulge in an intrigue, but even with this object they appeared to be valued merely in proportion to the difficulty involved in getting hold of them. A Káfir with three or four young wives is still always on the look-out for love-charms or philtres. He will ingenuously explain that he does not wish his own wives to get more fond of him, but longs to influence and overcome strange women whom he may meet accidentally. Real or assumed sexual passion is looked upon as the index of a man's virility. Quite old men will pretend a lustiness they are far from feeling, and if they are at all unwell and under medical treatment they like their medical advisers to order them to abstain from sexual intercourse, for this enables them to complain loudly against the tyranny they are subjected to. Gokal Chand, the Indian compounder who was with me in Káfiristán, made himself very popular by ordering abstinence in this respect, and then sympathising with the sufferers from his stern orders.

Young women are very immoral, not because their natural average disposition is either better or worse than that of women of other tribes and races, but because public opinion is all in favour of what may be called "gallantry." A Katir Káfir visiting Kámdesh, or a Kám man staying in a Katir village, always expects to have a female companion provided for him by a thoughtful host. It is said that a stranger can always be accommodated in this way; that there may be two or three women in a village who would refuse to give themselves up to a visitor, but hardly more than that number. No payments are expected by the women, since Káfirs never have anything to give. It is merely a form of hospitality for a host to offer to bring to his guest some woman whose husband happens to be away at the time. The husbands, knowing well this national peculiarity of the women, by which they themselves have doubtless profited, are exceedingly jealous, not because of the wrong done to them morally, but because they have received no benefit in the way of the fine paid for adultery. The daughters-in-law of Kán Márá, the Chief of the Katirs, were young women who were devoted to their husbands, yet they persecuted my Baltis with improper overtures until the latter appealed to me to protect them. In this comical instance it was money the women wanted, for they despised the Baltis heartily. The High Priest of the Kám and other notables were at first surprised and somewhat hurt at my refusing to allow them to act as pimps for me. A woman taken in adultery is not stoned. On the contrary it is extremely probable that she will be considered a good wife, who has brought a fortune to her husband. It is often a matter of collusion between her and her husband. A man who possesses no cows expects his wife to help him in getting them. She lays her plans and tries to inveigle some youth of fairly rich parents into her embraces, when the husband surprises the couple, or at least one of them, and there is a great outcry. The neighbours rush to the scene with much laughter. A goat is sent for on the spot for a peace-making feast between the seducer and the husband. Of course the neighbours also partake of the feast, the husband and wife both look very happy, and so does everyone else, except the gallant who pays for the goat, and knows that he or his family must also pay the penalty for adultery. There is no getting out of that, for his clan will not help him, unless the husband demands a higher penalty than that sanctioned by custom. There are several households in Kámdesh whose sole property in cows consists of the number paid by an adulterer. Among themselves the women are wonderfully helpful and kind to one another when there are no disputes going on about the irrigation of the fields or other business matters. They are very industrious and appear to work incessantly. They start off to work at daybreak, and drag their wearied limbs home from the fields just before it gets dark. They are fond of and most respectful to their husbands, and are devotedly attached to their children, especially to the boys. In other respects they are like women generally; some are good and some are bad.

Marriages are very simple affairs. They are actually the purchase of women by men. When a man wants to marry a particular girl, he sends a friend to her father to ask his consent and arrange about the price. On the latter point there is often much haggling. When the amount to be paid has been settled the suitor visits the girl's house, a goat is killed, and the marriage is consummated the same night, or at

any rate the man generally sleeps with the female, although she is often so young that even a Káfir cannot always consummate his marriage. Many a young girl cohabits with her husband before she has arrived at the age of puberty, indeed, I should say they generally do so. Infants in arms are sometimes married, or at least affianced, to grown men. It is comparatively rare to find a girl of 12 who is unmarried. A young woman who remains unmarried must be a hopelessly bad character. I was told that it was considered a shameful thing for a girl to have a child before she had a husband. That may be so, but the remark seemed rather unnecessary, for the number of girls who are unmarried and yet old enough to bear children must be very small. If, however, an unmarried girl were found to be misconducting herself, nothing would be done to the man, while the girl would probably be scolded by her parents, and the matter would be hushed up. Full-grown young women, and even middle-aged women, are sometimes married to boys, for the former are field slaves quite as much as wives, so that an orphan lad who is the owner of fields must marry in order to get his field land cultivated. As the Káfirs are polygamists there is no hardship involved in this custom—to the boy.

Polygamy.

All well-to-do Káfirs have more than one wife, but rarely more than four or five. It is considered a reproach to have only one wife, a sign of poverty and insignificance. I remember being present at a heated discussion at Kámdesh concerning the best plans to be adopted to prepare for an expected attack. A man sitting on the outskirts of the assembly controverted something the priest said. Later on the priest turned round fiercely and demanded to be told how a man with "only one wife" presumed to offer an opinion at all. The spectators laughed at the interrupter's presumption, and partly hustled, partly led him away, for he had to pretend a desire to assault the priest in reply to the scorn poured out on him. The man's conduct was excused to me on the ground that he must be mad. As a matter of fact, he was right about the expected attack, and the priest was wrong. The price paid for a wife depends entirely upon the *status* of the suitor. If a poor man, he would have to pay eight cows; if fairly well-to-do, twelve. If the girl's father were very wealthy he would probably refuse to entertain a poor man's proposals at all. If both families were wealthy and important, the suitor would have to pay a very large price, but not nearly so much as he would ever afterwards declare he had given, for he would almost certainly get with his wife a female slave, certain silver ornaments, or sundry measures of corn. In such an instance as this the Káfir love of bragging would have to be allowed for. Both families would try to exaggerate their own importance by the fables they told about the marriage expenditure. Although a man may marry a woman with the full consent of all concerned, and although she may bear him children, neither she nor her children would be allowed to leave her father's house until the last penny of her price had been paid. I am not quite sure, however, if sons would not belong to the father. Daughters I know would not. It is paying the full price which gives the man the right to take his wife to his home for her to work in his fields.

Exogamy of the clan.

As mentioned before, a man may not marry in his own clan or in his mother's or in his father's mother's, but he may marry all sorts of female connexions by marriage. A brother takes over his dead brother's wives, to keep himself or to dispose of as he thinks fit. There is in Kámdesh a man named Ganga Malik who married his own step-mother. Many other curious marriages have come under my notice. A woman in Káfiristán is really a chattel. She cannot inherit. She has no property, even in herself.

Divorce.

Divorce is easy. A man sells his wife, or sends her away. An old Káfir, after telling me he had had altogether 12 wives, added that he had only two remaining. He explained that some had died, while he had tired of the others and had sold them. If a woman behaves very badly, and her husband, although he dislikes her, cannot dispose of her, he may send her back to her parents. I remember an instance of this kind. The woman was the prettiest I ever saw in Káfiristán, and would have been considered a beauty anywhere, but she was so bad and troublesome that no one would take her. She was sent back to her father's house and worked for him. I was told that if anyone were found in adultery with her he would have to pay the usual fine to the husband. If she were found with child by some unknown man, nothing could be done. If a girl were born, the woman would keep her; if a son, the husband would claim him. When a woman runs away with another man the husband tries hard to get an enhanced price for his fugitive wife. His power to do this, and the power of the seducer to resist any unusual demand, depend very greatly upon the respective importance of the two families, *i.e.*, the number of men each can produce as family

connexions to argue the question. If both men were of the same rank the price the husband originally gave for the woman would probably suffice, but endless squabbles, followed by peacemakings, would have first to be gone through. Although divorce is theoretically so simple, and usually is so in practice, yet with well-born wives the woman's family and public opinion have sometimes to be considered. If the woman had misbehaved badly in the Káfir sense there would be no difficulty in the matter, but if the husband simply tired of her and wanted to get rid of her out of the village, there might be obstacles raised by her family against his doing so. But this reservation would apply only to a very few families in the Kám tribe, for instance. The power a Káfir has over his wife to beat or otherwise ill-use her is also limited by public opinion. It is a sacred duty for all Káfirs to separate quarrelling persons, so that if a husband and his wife were quarrelling the neighbours would step in and insist on being peacemakers. Husbands who on returning from a journey receive hints, but not proofs, that their wives have been behaving badly and unprofitably, do maltreat the women, but the punishment has to be inflicted secretly late at night, and as a rule is not very severe. Káfirs rarely divorce their wives unless the women run away from them. Young boys who find themselves married to old women when they grow up commonly acquiesce in the arrangement, and procure younger wives as soon as possible.

The family life of Káfirs is kindly on the whole. A well-to-do man with several wives may have two or three different homes. In Kámdesh, where there are plenty of spare houses, this is certainly the case. The women seem to get on very well together. It is not invariably the youngest and prettiest wife who has the most influence, except with old men. Middle-aged men sometimes, though rarely, are influenced by a woman's force of will rather than by personal attractions, especially if the woman is the mother of many children. Husbands and wives enjoy playing with the baby together, and will glance significantly and delightedly at one another when their offspring makes some admirable childish remark. All very young children are spoiled, both boys and girls, but very soon the girls are neglected and the boys indulged. A Káfir asks nothing better than to carry about or be followed by a tiny son. He allows himself to be bullied and tyrannised over by the mannikin in a most amusing way. If he have not a son to play with, he will sometimes take care of a little girl with a natural fondness, but without any pride. A small child may, as a rule, have anything it cries for from an enormous meat-bone bigger than its arm to a bundle of lighted faggots from the fire. Indeed, everybody is kind to children. A little slave girl on her way to be sold is treated with as much apparent affection and pride in her baby tricks as if she were her conductor's own daughter. As soon as girls grow to the age of eight, they begin to experience the evil destiny assigned to their sex. The women of the house are always very respectful to their lord and master, and hover about serving him and his, even when they appear scarcely able to stand. They fare very badly and only get coarse food themselves, except when feasts are going on, when at the end they eat up the scraps. There is, however, every variety of attitude in the way different men treat their wives, except that none are treated too well. Boys generally tyrannise over their mothers, mothers are often stern and harsh with their daughters, while the husband and father is a very great man indeed, and much puffed up with his own importance in his own house. A Káfir woman and her dirty little baby, when looked at aright, are just as charming to watch as similar human pictures anywhere else. Men often fear their mothers-in-law as well as their fathers-in-law in a very amusing way. The priest's father-in-law once came down to my house to quarrel; he was in a very bad temper. I sent for the priest, who promptly hid himself. On another occasion his mother-in-law goaded my Káfir son to a retort which she more than deserved. Nevertheless the priest had to make the quarrel his own. Sons are, as a rule, kind to their aged mothers. One poor old woman had a bad fall, breaking her arm and lacerating the deep-seated blood vessels. I did my best to stop the bleeding, but without permanent success. The woman's son, a well-known warrior, was greatly concerned about his mother for three days, during which period he was very miserable. On the fourth day, however, he came to me to say that he had work to do, and so doubtless had I also; that if I chose to cut off the old woman's arm he was quite willing it should be done, but that it was no good trifling any longer. He then went away and began to prepare the funeral feasts, which were really wanted a few days later. Connexions by marriage are looked upon as relatives and kindly treated. Old people of both sexes are devoted to their grandchildren, especially the old men. The old women are often so physically exhausted after their hard life that

Family life.

they appear to be emotionally dead a long time before they actually expire. Káfirs have a natural turn for politeness and ceremoniousness, odd as it may sound to say so, and this, in spite of the furious quarrelling which occasionally arises, makes their domestic affairs run smoothly on the whole. Young boys soon learn to be wonderfully independent, and are placed in charge of their father's flocks at an absurdly early age, while those belonging to important families quickly acquire habits of command and a sober style in business matters. The worst feature in the domestic life of the Káfirs is the idea they seem to have that anything is good enough to feed a child upon. I think that the little children are, on the whole, even worse fed than the poor women. A goat's hoof, the dirty rind of cheese, or any other garbage, is thought good enough for children.

SECTION VIII.

SLAVERY.

Position of
slaves in
general.

The slave community is a curious and interesting class. Their traditional origin is dealt with elsewhere. It is probable that they are partly the descendants of an ancient people subjugated by the Káfirs when they first entered the country, and partly the descendants of prisoners taken in war. Among the slaves all are not of the same social position, for the house slave is said to be much higher in grade than the artisan slave; but this is one of the many points in connexion with the slaves which has always puzzled me. The skilled mechanics, the woodcarvers, the bootmakers, and the silver workers are called "Jast bari"; "jast" means senior or elder, and "bari" means slave. The lowest class of all is the blacksmiths. All the craftsmen of the Káfirs, carpenters, daggermakers, ironworkers, and weavers, are slaves, as are also all those musicians who beat drums. These slave artisans live in a particular part of a village. In Kámdesh the slave quarter is called "babagrom." The domestic slaves live with their masters. The relations existing between the slaves, their masters, and the ordinary free population are very curious. It is impossible to insult a Káfir more than by calling him a slave. In a village quarrel, that is the epithet used to lash opponents into fury. Slaves are considered so impure that they may not approach the shrines of the gods too closely, nor enter beyond the doorway of the priest's house. They are always liable to be sold, and also, I fear, to be given up to another Káfir tribe to be killed in atonement for a murder. Their children are the property of their master to do with as he thinks fit. Yet, in spite of all this, their lot is by no means so bad, as it must appear. A very curious case I knew was one in which a master and his slave went through the ceremony of brotherhood together. The master, in talking to me about his slaves, mentioned this fact quietly, and as if there were nothing unusual in it. The slave artisans work for their masters with material supplied by the latter, and are not paid for their labour. If the slaves work for others they do not hand their wages over to their masters, but keep it themselves. On the other hand the masters do not supply the artisan slaves with food or clothing; the latter are entirely self-supporting.

Singular
privileges.

The house slaves are fed and worked more in the manner implied by their name. They probably would be beaten or otherwise punished if they were not industrious, but I never saw anything like harshness in the way they were treated. A curious circumstance about the slaves is that they are permitted, after giving certain feasts to the free community, including of course their masters, to wear the earrings of the Jast, but this privilege does not appear to exalt the individual, except among the slave community. The bondsmen also adopt, more or less closely, all the manners and customs of the rest of the community, and give feasts at funerals, and on other great occasions. But perhaps the most perplexing point about them is that they are sometimes chosen to be members of the Urir, the annually elected magistrates, provided that they are not blacksmiths, and that they are Jast bari. In 1891, this actually occurred while I was in Kámdesh. It was explained that it was a useful thing to elect a slave representative, because he knew so much about his own class, and their doings. What really happened is what might have been expected. The slave Urir was instrumental in bringing a freeman to punishment by fine. The latter, with his brethren, waited a certain number of days, during which the persons of the Urir are peculiarly sacred, and then attacked the slave. The rest of the Urir, all of whom were free men, rushed to protect their brother magistrate; the different families and clans began to take sides, and what promised to be a bloody

quarrel was only averted with great difficulty. There is no distinctive badge either for male or female slaves, but their physiognomy is often quite sufficient to show the class to which they belong. Slaves are just as patriotic as the rest of the community. There was one slave at Kámdesh, a blacksmith, belonging to the most despised class of all, who was pointed out to me as a tall man of his hands, and the slayer of many of his country's foes. Many others fight well when occasion arises.

I was assured that at Kámdesh slaves could only be sold in the village or down the valley, and that if one escaped and ran away to Katirgul, he would have to be given up at once or there would be war. Slaves are rarely sold unless the owner becomes very poor indeed. A young female slave is more valuable than a male, because there is the probability that she will bear children; an old woman or a very old man is of course worth nothing at all. When a female slave is sold out of the valley, she is always sent by herself, for if she were one of a party they would certainly all run away from their purchaser. Mahomedans are always ready to buy female slaves, or their young female children, and pay high prices for them, partly, no doubt, because they are thereby enabled to make converts to Islám.

The Presuns, who are a feeble folk, have no slaves of their own, and purchase them from the Katir tribes. It is a strange sight to see Káfirs in the Siah-Posh garb, and therefore presumably manly and independent, owning as their masters the heavy-featured cowardly Presuns.

There is very little traffic in slaves. Female children of slave parents are sold and sent away to neighbouring Mahomedan tribes. The slave population is very limited in number, and as it comprises all the artificers of the village, it would be exceedingly inconvenient to the tribe if such men were always liable to be sold. Nevertheless, I believe that the community lays no claim to a common property in the slaves; they all belong to their respective masters, to be sold or retained as each thinks best.

On one point I am not clear. It is concerning the position of children of a free man by a slave mother. I believe that sometimes a slave woman is taken into the house of a free man, and that her children are not slaves, although they rank much below the children born of a woman of the same rank as the man. One sometimes discovers that the eldest brother, the head of a family, has a half brother who is looked upon as a man of no importance. He probably inherited nothing at the death of his father, yet he is treated kindly by his half-brethren and is undoubtedly a free man. The point I have not determined is this: was the mother of this man of no account, a slave woman, or merely a woman of low rank?

The Utah, the priest of the Kám, who is considered so pure an individual that slaves may not approach his hearth, has two children, a girl and a boy, who are both of much lower grade than his other children. Their mother was a Bashgul Katir, but I never could ascertain whether she had been a slave or was merely of inferior rank. Utah had given the daughter to a Gujar of the Kunar Valley, who paid an exorbitant price for the girl, believing her to be one of the ordinary children of the Kám priest and being anxious to proselytise a Káfir damsel of such presumably high birth. Utah told me the story himself with a grave face, but with his tongue in his cheek, so to speak. I subsequently discovered that he spoke truly.

SECTION IX.

TRADE AND AGRICULTURE.

(1.) *Trade.*

The greater part of the external trade of Káfristán is carried on through the Mahomedan villages on its frontiers. Some of these villages are inhabited by Káfirs who have changed their religion, or whose ancestors did so, while others are inhabited by non-fanatic Mahomedans, such as the so-called Gabar people of the Kunar Valley, or the Moghli Shiahs of Minján. There is a certain amount of trade also done in the Chitrál bazaar. Pedlars, bringing small wares and ornaments from Peshawer or Badakhshán, also enter Káfristán to ply their vocation. The Minjánis travel into all Katir districts, the Rámgul, the Kulam, the Kti, and the Bashgul, and also trade in the Presungul. They never visit the Kám or the other Siah-Posh tribes. The Western Katirs sell young female children to the Minjánis, but of late years this traffic has decreased considerably, although the Kti people in particular are always on

Trade in slaves.

Children of freemen by slave mothers.

External trade.

the look-out to steal little girls and sell them in Minján. The Lutdeh (Bragamatál) villagers plume themselves on the fact that the Minjánis bring merchandise to their very doors. They contrast this pleasant arrangement with that which prevails among the Kám tribe, where the people have to go to the Kunar Valley for outside supplies. The Minjánis bring in black woollen robes (shukrs), coarse cotton cloth, wooden combs, cheap Badakhshi silk over-garments, small trinkets, and salt, which they exchange for wool and hides, honey, and ghee. They carry back enormous loads of hides and wool, and regard the Minján Pass as merely an incident of the journey. In the evening they sit quietly by themselves in the Káfir villages waiting for some one to bring food for which, of course, no payment is ever made. With Presungul the principal trade is salt; with the other Western Káfirs, salt and clothing. The salt is sold at about the equivalent of eight seers for one rupee. The Presuns buy it by the slab, the standard unit being an irregular shaped fragment of rock salt, some $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick, and a span and a hand's breadth in its greatest length.

Besides salt, cheap stuffs for dancing dresses, cotton cloths, needles, thread, beads, brass thimbles, pewter rings, and other personal ornaments, iron, lead, and other metals, gunpowder, and matchlocks, have also to be imported into Káfristán, since none are produced in the country itself.

In the Gabar villages of the Kunar Valley salt is sold at eight or ten seers to the Kabuli rupee, if coins are used. One seer of ghee will purchase four seers of salt. A roll of coarse cotton cloth made locally, 12 ins. broad by 24 yards in length, is worth one rupee. Of better qualities of cotton which are brought from Peshawar the price is four or five yards, according to quality, for one sheep. If the Káfirs have a few rupees, as a rule they do not care to trade with them as they believe they got better bargains by bartering goats, sheep, and ghee.

Exports.

The Káfir exports consist chiefly of ghee, hides, wool, goats, sheep, honey, and walnuts, in the order named. The soft leather boots made at Kámdesh are also highly appreciated by the Mahomedan on the borders. In exchange for such commodities they appear to have little difficulty in getting iron, gunpowder, and matchlocks; it is simply a question of price. The lower Bashgul Káfirs get their iron from the valley of Damir chiefly. Chitrál is too long a journey for most Káfirs, because nearly all portorage is done by women, but the Katirs go there a good deal—for salt particularly. In the Kunar Valley in peace time and in the winter a large number of Káfir women are to be seen. They carry ghee, walnuts, and other articles. The pedlars are few in number. They bring all manner of trashy goods into the country, sham jewellery, imitation kin-kob, common kullahs, cotton velvet, cheap silks, glass beads, brass thimbles, sometimes with English inscriptions on them, and all manner of worthless looking small articles for personal adornment. They get enormous prices for such small wares if the intrinsic value of the articles be alone considered, but if the cost and labour of a long journey, and the constant danger the men run of being robbed be also taken into account, the actual profits gained must be very small. If they were not hospitably entertained wherever they go, such trading would be impossible. Indeed, prepared food or fruit is never bought or sold in Káfristán. Strangers or natives can always get enough to eat in ordinary times. In this respect the difference between Chitrál and Káfristán is very great.

Measures and currency.

Among the Káfirs themselves all business is done by barter. A cow is a standard of value, being reckoned at twenty Kabuli rupees, a goat is three rupees, and a sheep one. It does not necessarily follow that these animals can be obtained at the prices mentioned. If one asks the price of a matchlock he will possibly be told it is worth one or two cows, as the case may be, that is thirty or forty rupees. A drum might be valued at a goat, and so on. Grain and flour are measured in shallow wicker baskets of which there are three particular sizes. The exact amount each basket was supposed to hold and its price were one of those secrets the Káfirs never divulged to me. Everything depended upon the amount of heaping up which was allowed. The same may be said of a goat-skin sack of grain, flour, honey, or ghee. All such measures must be estimated by the eye and then bargained for. No one will believe that there can be any curiosity about measures of quantities except when the idea of purchase is also in the inquirer's mind. Rough scales and weights are in common use. There is probably a set in almost every household in the Bashgul Valley. Smaller and somewhat more accurate scales are employed for precious articles such as silver. I have a small weight in my possession which is a tiny brass model of a kid, but the usual weights are fragments of stone.

Káfirs are clever at all trade tricks. They sold me several ornaments as silver which are really of base metal. They took silver from me to fashion into earrings and brought me articles made of a kind of pewter. The Jast bari who did this kept all his processes a profound secret. All I ever learned of the silver workers and brass workers was that they are decidedly clever and immovably reticent about their occupations.

With regard to the other trades, the slave women weave the woollen cloth on small upright looms identical in principle with those seen in India.

Miscellaneous trades.

Nor could I perceive any difference in the manner of working iron. There was a regular forge, an anvil fixed upon a huge block of wood, an adjacent trough full of water, and a blast furnace. The bellows were a pair of goatskins, emptied and inflated alternately. The smith at work had hammers of different sizes for the various manipulations required. In short, everything was such as would be seen in an Indian smithy.

The Káfirs are, indeed, well skilled in many of the ordinary trades. The Presuns are far behind the Bashgul people in this respect, but they also are far removed from savage simplicity. The bootmakers are very skilful. They make good strong soft leather foot-coverings, very durable if they do not get wet. Leather curing is not properly understood, and all leather articles soon get hard, crack, and spoil. Much of a Káfir's spare time, and he has a great deal of it, is passed with a goatskin, which he rubs and twists between his hands or gets some one to help him pull at and stretch. This is amateur skin-curing, but everything connected with the tanning of cowhides is done by the slaves, the skilled artizans. Ropes are twisted from goat hair and are fairly strong, though rough-looking and cumbersome.

Crocks and other potter's vessels are well made. They are of the usual oriental pattern.

Wood carving cannot be called an art; it is merely a trade. There are a limited number of patterns, and nothing whatever is left to the worker's imagination; so also with the wood sculpture and effigy making. Everything is stereotyped and conventional. All this work is done by the carpenter slaves, the men who also make coffins and shape the timber for housebuilding.

There is no special trade of building. Everyone can build a house, although the carpenters must make the door, frames, and windows, and hew into proper form the roof, boards and pillars. All farm and dairy work is done by the people who are all equally expert. The implements are made by the carpenter and blacksmith slaves.

Versatility of the craftsmen.

There is very little differentiation of trades. The carpenter does wood work of every description. The blacksmith can often act as silversmith; at any rate the silversmith can always do the work of the blacksmith. The leather worker makes belts, pouches, boots, and certain parts of musical instruments. The versatility of the craftsmen prevents anything like supreme excellence being maintained in any one branch. The nearest approach to new ideas in the manufacture of novel forms of utensils which my visit suggested to the Káfirs was in utilizing my empty jam tins. These were in one or two instances fitted with small iron rings at one point of their circumference and carried about as drinking cups, being fastened to the owner's girdle by a thong of leather. The best carpenters and wood carvers in Káfiristán are to be found in the Presun Valley; the best iron workers in the Wai country, while the best bootmakers and leather workers are in the Bashgul Valley.

(2.) Agriculture.

The chief crop produced in Káfiristán is a kind of millet called in the Punjáb "tchina." Others are wheat, barley, and Indian corn. Rice is not cultivated. A considerable quantity of wheat is grown, but it is somewhat of a luxury, and is reserved for guests and feasts. Tchina (millet) is the staple food of the people. Indian corn is produced in considerable quantities; barley less than any of the other food grains. Field operations begin at different dates in different localities in accordance with their altitude and aspect. The amount and duration of the snow-fall naturally determine the dates of the spring sowings also. Kámdesh village is between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above the sea level. On April 4, 1891, ploughing began in that village, while on October 2, 1890, I had witnessed the Indian corn crop being harvested. In the same place on September 7, 1891, the wheat and tchina crops were cut. The wheat was

Crops.

being dried on the housetops preparatory to being winnowed; the tchina was being threshed. At the beginning of April, 1891, there was still a good deal of snow all over the cultivated fields. It melted wonderfully quickly, and little torrents, streams, and runnels were draining away from the arable land. At the Sheikh hamlet of Agatsi, on the opposite side of the river, some 1,800 feet lower than Kámdesh, the fields were already green with the young wheat, which I was informed had been sown before the snowfall. At the end of September 1890 I had watched people ploughing in the Pittigul Valley.

Ploughing.

When the ploughing began the land was very soft from the lately melted snow. The ploughs used are so light that they can be easily carried over a woman's shoulder. They are furnished with an iron tip and have a prominent heel which stands high out of the shallow furrow. They are of rough and primitive construction. Two women manage a plough which is drawn by a small ox. The animal's movements are controlled by one of the women placed on the off side, who grasps in her hands a long handle, fixed at the other extremity to the yoke which works on the ox's neck just in front of the hump. With the leverage afforded by this long handle the woman seems to have no difficulty in keeping the animal on a level course or in turning him as she pleases. The plough itself is controlled by the second woman, who works alongside instead of behind the handle, which is fore and aft and made to be grasped with both hands. After traversing the small field a few times the women change places so as to equalise the labour. Stooping over the handles sideways is more arduous than directing the course of the ox, although the woman staggering along and pushing against or dragging at the animal's neck with the long yoke pole appears to be doing more work. Mahomedans beyond the border always maintain that in Káfristán a woman is harnessed to the plough with the ox, but this is not true. In the Kám tribe a man never touches the plough handle; but in other places men do work in the fields even when they are not slaves. Musselmans within the borders of this country, as at the little settlement near Gourdesh, plough in the usual way, one man doing all the work and driving a pair of oxen. At this place the two systems may be seen in operation in adjacent fields.

Harrowing and sowing.

No time is lost in getting the seed into the ground. On April 5, in a particular field near my house, the plough started breaking up the ground. On the following day the seed grain was being sown. After the plough had done its work, strings of women in an irregular line began breaking up the clods with hooked sticks or with implements like blunt axes, furnished with wooden handles and iron heads. Another instrument looked like a light open crutch without the arm rest, and was used upside down. One woman worked the single end, while a second, with ropes fastened to the forked extremities, dragged it up after each plunge into the broken-up furrow. Walking about when this work had been completed, I noticed the sower casting handfuls of grain in what seemed a very niggardly fashion from a small goat-skin bag carried in the left hand. On May 5, 1891, all the Kámdesh fields were ploughed, and in several places the crops were showing above the ground. The women were hard at work carrying manure.

Weeding and manuring.

On May 14 I watched the weeding. The women worked eight or ten in a line, except when the space was very limited or the slope very great. Then they worked singly or in couples. Each used a stick which had an offshoot from the end at right angles to the handle part. They were kneeling, stooping or sitting, but a few, especially the old women, were bending down in the characteristic attitude of female field workers in England.

By May 18 the wheat had grown up several inches. Such of the women as were not weeding were busily occupied in manuring the fields with stable and latrine refuse, which was carried in their conical baskets and then distributed in handfuls over the crops.

Irrigation.

In July irrigation of the fields was necessary almost everywhere. The quantity of water allowed to each was regulated by the Urir, but in 1891 there was a good supply of water and consequently no fighting and quarrelling among the women, as there frequently is in years of drought. The women turn the water into their fields and regulate its flow in a very deft way. Their only implement is a short hooked stick, but they thoroughly understand what they have to do.

Threshing and winnowing.

On September 7, on returning to Kámdesh, I noticed that the wheat was cut and threshed. The grain was spread out on blankets on the house-tops to be picked, cleaned, and winnowed. The millet (tchina) was being threshed. The flail is a long stick with

a strong curve at the handle end. It is used by twirling the wrist backwards in a circular way, while the hand never relaxes its grasp. The implement is continually being shifted from one hand to the other. Little friendly parties are made up for threshing, which is usually the men's sole share in the work of agriculture. The workers circle round a heap of grain in a regular manner, bending and swinging their flails in unison, often forming a very graceful picture. The Indian corn is carried about the beginning of October. On October 2, 1890, I marvelled at the huge loads of this crop which the merest "slips of girls" contrived to carry up the severest slopes.

Winnowing is done with a small wooden vessel, shaped like a flat-bottomed boat, and furnished with a handle five inches long projecting from the square stern. A woman ladles up the grain and the wind does the rest.

When necessary, at the mouth of ravines and valleys, and in other situations, fields are carefully terraced, especially in the Presungul, where the natural difficulties of the country have made the inhabitants skilful and painstaking agriculturists. Terraced fields.

To speak generally, the Káfir cattle are good. They are inferior to good English breeds, but reach the average of those seen in Kashmir. A certain number specially fattened for sacrifice to Gish in connexion with the Jast ceremonies are really handsome animals, as big as English beasts, and much resembling them in shape and colour. Seeing them in India one would conjecture that they were English, or at least half English. Some varieties are humped. Cattle.

The beef obtainable in Káfiristán is extremely tough, a quality which is due no doubt to the method of killing cattle, and to the fact that the meat is never hung. Káfirs like it, but then they always eat the flesh of cattle which die from disease.

In the autumn, when feeding is difficult, horse-chestnut branches are utilized as fodder. A certain amount of stall feeding is practised. At the end of a day's weeding, the long grass stalks are collected into bundles by the women to be carried home, dried in the sun, and stacked for winter use. These grass stacks are very common objects. In the Presungul they are built on the top of the pshals. In Kámdesh they are often built on specially prepared platforms. My kitchen in Kámdesh was made by building up walls under one of these platforms. Until the stack was nearly consumed the kitchen was the only place which could be relied upon to be always dry. Fodder.

Every man in Kámdesh who possesses cows brings as many of them as possible into the village during the winter, partly on account of the facility for feeding the animals, and partly because the ghee and cheese making may be done there comfortably.

The goats are a fine breed. The males in some instances attain a prodigious size, especially those reserved for sacrifice and fed up with that object. Sheep and goats.

The sheep are very poor. It is rare indeed to get any of even comparative excellence. They are ill-fed, and consequently are diminutive, thin, and bad eating. Their flesh is not much liked by the people, but a certain number have to be kept for the sake of the wool.

Butter is churned in goat skins. The ghee is made in the usual way by driving off the water of the butter by heat. The Káfirs are famous for their ghee. It is rarely adulterated, and is of excellent quality. In the summer months, while the men are away at the dairy farms, they live almost entirely on butter-milk, bread being difficult to obtain, and animals being comparatively rarely killed for food. Butter.

For cheese-making the following is the process. A short length of goat's intestine (challah) is fully inflated, and tied tightly at both ends with goat's hair. It is then hung up over the fire for days, months, or even for a year. When wanted for use it is untied and well washed. It is then placed in a dried hollowed-out pumpkin filled with water, which is then covered with a wooden top and placed by the fire from morning till midday. Equal portions of this, of water and of "aillah" (the residue in cheese-making) are then mixed together and poured into the vessel holding the milk. The whole is then stirred and set down by the fire, and in two hours the cheese is ready to be worked. Cheese.

I watched wine being made at Bináram, a hamlet close to Kámdesh. The arrangements were very simple. A flat-topped boulder conveniently placed by the roadside formed the floor of the wine press, and one side of a second boulder did duty for one of its walls. The other walls, more or less semi-circular in continuous outline, were made by stones placed one on the top of the other and raised to a height of two and a half feet, the interstices being filled up with clay. The greatest length of the vat was about five feet six inches, and its greatest breadth about four feet. The floor sloped naturally, and at the lower end, in front, an aperture had been left, partly closed by a little brushwood, from under which a deeply grooved piece of wood, with its edges still Wine-making.

further deepened by clay from the vat, protruded, and afforded an outlet for the expressed juice. When I arrived a considerable quantity of grapes had already been thrown into the receptacle, and a woman kept emptying into it fresh basketfuls which she brought up the steep hillside from below where the vines grew. When everything was ready and the vat was full of grapes, its owner laid humorously violent hands on a big man who was looking on. He was persuaded to tread the grapes. They took him aside and carefully washed his legs and feet, and then put him into the press. He enjoyed himself thoroughly, treading with so much vigour that he had to be frequently checked to prevent the juice from over-flowing the receiving vessels. These were at first large wooden cups, which when full had their contents ladled back into the press. This was explained to me as a "necessary custom always observed." Then goat skins were filled with juice through a kind of wooden funnel. That was all. The first sweet grape juice in the goat skin is very pleasant. In eight or ten days it becomes sour by fermentation, and is then wine. There is no process of straining and the fluid is most uninviting in appearance. Probably it is to remove the scum from near their lips that the Káfir always blow into the wine bowl before drinking. The wine is usually poor and thin, but even then is usually diluted with water. I have, however, tasted wine which had been kept for three years. It was clear and distinctly strong. Some Europeans think ordinary Káfir wine pleasant to drink. I have never seen a Káfir drunk.

Dried grape-
cake.

When the juice is nearly all extracted from the vat a semi-solid residue remains. This is taken out a small quantity at a time and placed on a flat stone, some two feet or so in diameter with a raised edge of clay two inches high all round. Here, protected by circles made of twigs, two large stones are put on top and pressed down by a long pliable pole used as a lever, one end being firmly buried in the ground while a number of men hang with all their weight on to the free end. The amount of force used can be easily regulated by the number of men employed. This dried residue is made up into cakes for food. It looks and tastes most unpleasant, but it is nevertheless highly appreciated by Káfirs, who believe that it possesses most sustaining qualities.

SECTION X.

WAR AND PEACE.

Tribal feuds.

It is probable that there is no single tribe of Káfirs at the present day which is at peace with all the other tribes. Some of their wars, if wars they can be called, have continued for generations. For instance, that between the Kám and the most western Katirs, the Rámgulis, is said to have lasted over a hundred years. As the two districts are far apart very little damage is done by one tribe to the other. Years probably pass without a single man being killed on either side or a single head of cattle being captured or lost. The one dangerous place for both people to meet is in the Presungul, or on the road from Presungul to Minján, because the Presungul people are not strong enough to protect sojourners in their country. In the upper part of the Bashgul Valley Kám and Rámguli can and do meet. Each may want to murder the other, but such an act would be followed in all probability by war with the Bashgul Káfirs. The murdered man's tribe would hold the Lutdehchis responsible for their fellow tribesman, while the Lutdeh men would possibly declare war or exact compensation from the murderer's tribe. In a wild country like Káfiristán such events do happen, though rarely.

Blood for
blood.

For instance, just after I returned to Kámdesh from Lutdeh (Bragamatál), a Wai man murdered a Rámguli in the latter place and then fled to his own country. Shortly afterwards the Bashgul Katirs raided the Wai country, and the murder, although it was not the stated reason for the attack, no doubt influenced the Katirs considerably, when they decided in what direction they should raid after Gísh had, through the Pshur, ordered them to get more sacrifices for his shrines. A murder of a Káfir in the territory of a people, or by a member of a tribe, with whom his tribe is at peace, is not necessarily followed by war. As an example, two Káfir youths were killed by a distant tribe, through whose valley they were travelling to try and murder in a third tribe closely connected with the other. The Kám did not want war just then, so the affair was compounded in the following way. The fathers of the two young men who had been killed went to the valley where the event had occurred, and after much negotiation obtained two persons, a man and a woman, whom they conducted a

short distance on the road home to Kámdesh and then slew. Thus their honour was satisfied and the two tribes remained at peace.

A man of any position at all who has been killed must be atoned for by blood. In 1891 some Kám Káfirs were hunting some Jandole Mahomedans down the Kunar Valley. The Jandolis ran for shelter to the Mehtar's new fort at Nursut which was garrisoned by Chitráli soldiers. The fort door was banged to just as the last Mahomedan, closely followed by the leading Káfir, passed through. It was a near shave and the Chitráli at the gate had to fire, killing the Káfir, to keep him from entering.

The murder
at Nári fort.

Time passed on until in 1893 I found myself at Chitráli on a special mission from the Government of India to the Mehtar Nizám-ul-Mulk. One day a messenger came to me from a well-known Káfir named Shyok, who sent word that as an old friend of mine he was anxious not to cause trouble of any kind in the then critical state of affairs at Chitrál, but that the man who had been killed at the Nári fort was a member of his, Shyok's, family, and although the slain man was an individual of no tribal importance, yet Shyok must have a Chitráli to kill. In the circumstances, to prevent complications, and particularly out of friendship with me, Shyok was prepared to accept any Chitráli, a slave even, but a Chitráli of some kind or other he must have. As I knew Shyok to be remarkable for cupidity even among Káfirs, I thought I might settle matters by paying him myself a ransom for the slain man. My Káfir "son" came to see me on the subject. He said: "You know Shyok well. There is nobody " in Káfiristán so avaricious as he is, yet if you offer him a lakh of rupees he cannot " accept it. For his honour's sake he must have a Chitráli to kill in front of the dead " man's coffin." I used all my argument and persuasion in vain. I was told the Mehtar would understand the situation and would readily supply a victim if I advised him to do so. How the affair ended I do not know. Probably Shyok or some of his friends caught some unhappy Chitráli and killed him, and the Mehtar winked at the deed if he heard of it at all.

While on this subject, I may mention that at the end of 1891 old Dán Malik was killed in the Kunar Valley during a treacherous raid on the Káfir grazing grounds there by Umra Khan of Jandole. Some time afterwards a Pathan was caught in the Kunar Valley by some of Dán Malik's relatives and taken to Kámdesh where I was told the poor captive was placed on the ground in front of Gísh's shrine. The whole village assembled there, and a regular worship of Gísh was conducted in the orthodox way by the High Priest. At its close the prisoner was taken to the Kámdesh cemetery and stabbed to death in front of Dán Malik's coffin.

The aveng-
ing of Dán
Malik.

In 1891 the Kashtán tribe, whose village is about half-an-hour's walk from Kámdesh, were at war with Asmár, while the Kám were at peace with that Khanate. The Afgháns obviously could not discriminate between Kám and Kashtán. So six or seven of the former tribe were killed by the Mahomedans. There was more than a suspicion that the men were slain in positions where they had no business, and not impossibly while actively fighting against the Asmár people. The Kámdesh elders made no protest, but small parties of Kám warriors went secretly and murdered a sufficient number of the Asmáris to satisfy the dead. These proceedings were winked at. There was no dancing at the gromma, no songs of triumph, but every one in the village knew what had occurred.

Neutrality.

Among themselves, I doubt if the Káfirs have any custom equivalent to a declaration of war. War begins by a raid by one tribe on another. When a people intend to participate in an existing war, or to start one on their own account, they sometimes, at any rate, merely content themselves with killing some members of the tribe they dislike. Probably there has been some anterior straining of the intertribal relations, and such an act of war is held to be quite sufficient without any formal declaration of hostilities. With Mahomedan enemies the procedure is different. At one time, while I was in Káfiristán, there was a fierce dispute between the Kám and the Mehtar, which culminated in the former threatening to send the latter a bullet or bullets, which was equivalent to a breaking-off of all negotiations, and a notification that war had begun. Sometimes, I was informed, arrows were sent by Káfir tribes to intimate to the recipient that hostilities had commenced; but of my own knowledge I can say nothing on that point.

Beginning of
a war.

The commonest cause of war among Káfirs themselves is robbery. One tribe knows that another tribe has fine flocks and herds, and decides to make a raid. Sometimes the Pshur starts a raid, as in the case already referred to, by declaring, during temporary inspirations, that the gods order it. Another cause is the general excitement of a tribe seeking to find some outlet for its energy. As an example of this, on one

Causa belli.

occasion, in 1891, the Wai retaliated on the Bashgul Katirs for raiding by secretly marching down the Nicingul and exterminating the hamlet of Sunru, the lowest settlement of Katirs in the Bashgul Valley. In their rage at this reprisal the Katirs very nearly attacked the Kám, declaring, I know not with what truth, that the latter were cognisant of the whole affair. They contended that the Kám had permitted the Wai to raid on them through Kám territory, and ignored altogether the fact that the Wai men must have marched through the Mádugális country also, but then they were friendly with the Mádugális. On another occasion the Kám very nearly attacked the Wai because they believed the latter might possibly have been implicated in the killing of two Kám men.

Inter-tribal
jealousy.

All Káfir tribes are extremely jealous of one another, no matter how they may have inter-married. Káfir hates Káfir far more intensely than he hates Mahomedans, and this sentiment is always liable at periods of unusual excitement to start internecine strife.

Foreign foes.

With foreigners the Káfirs are, as often as not, the actual, though remote aggressors. Ambitious Musselman Chiefs may raid into Káfiristán, burning with the desire to earn the title of Gházi, and fanatics may be maddened by Mullahs to draw the sword for Islám, proselytise, or exact tribute from the infidel, or die the pure death of the "martyr"; but the Káfir is an uncomfortable neighbour at all times. He is incessantly robbing, blackmailing, or murdering on the frontier unless completely overawed by the power of some particular chief, as the Bashgul Katirs were by the Mehtar Amán-ul-Mulk, of Chitrál, or the Kám by the Khan of Jandole. Many of the attacks by Mahomedans in Káfiristán have been in revenge for murdered relations and plundered caravans. In 1891 there were agrarian troubles in the Kunar Valley. The Mehtar wished to introduce Gujar families into the grazing grounds, but each time it was attempted the Káfirs murdered the whole family. No war resulted. Even murderers caught red-handed would not be killed by Chitrális unless they were ready to invade Káfiristán immediately afterwards.

A Mahomedan people entering on a Káfir war would be careful to keep their design as secret as possible. The Káfirs, although their suspicions might be aroused, would receive the first definite intimation that war had begun by the irruption of the enemy into their territory. In 1891, at the end of the year, Umra Khan lulled the Kám tribe into false security by lying promises and honied words. Then he suddenly raided the Nursut grazing grounds with great success. That is the origin of the bitter strife which is still raging furiously. From his own point of view Umra Khan acted with statesmanlike astuteness, and his action would be applauded by general Mahomedan opinion. A Musselman is under no obligations to behave honourably in his dealings with "infidels."

The murder
of the Khan
of Asmár.

The war between the Asmár people and the Kashtán tribe originated as follows:—The Kashtán had a village in the Dungul Valley, not far from Palasgar. As that settlement was almost completely cut off from the rest of the tribe during the winter, the Dungul Káfirs gradually became quiet, and were careful not to give offence to their Mussalmen neighbours. They even went so far as to adopt their dress to a great extent, the women dressing like Musselmans. But one day an armed party of Asmár men came to the village and burnt it. Then desultory fighting ensued, and has been continued ever since. The Khan of Asmár was murdered outside his own fort, as he was sitting at a feast after a hunting expedition. His murderer was a Káfir who had been converted to Mahomedanism, and lived at Asmár with his wife and family. He was a Kashtán Káfir, and one of his Dungul blood relations had been killed by Asmáris. In the midst of a crowd of retainers, who were, of course, completely taken by surprise, the Káfir plunged his dagger into the Khan and then started off for the Káfir hills, which he managed to reach in safety. He told me the story himself with modest pride and apparently with no regrets for his Mahomedan wife, who had been led out and stoned to death by the Asmár people. This man was considered a great hero on his return to Káfiristán, and the dagger with which he assassinated the Khan was eagerly bought by a wealthy Káfir at the high price of two cows.

Mahomedan
hatred of the
Káfirs.

All the neighbouring Musselman tribes have an intense hatred of Káfirs, with the exception, perhaps, of the Kunar Valley Gabar villagers, and the Minjánis. This does not arise, I am convinced, from religious prejudices as much as from the injuries they have received from the Káfirs through long ages. Similarly the Káfirs love to dance to Gísh after killing Mahomedans, but their hatred of Afgháns is far more a race hatred than religious fanaticism. Even in times far remote it may be doubted if race antagonism was not at least as strong as difference of creed in keeping Afghán

and Káfir at bitter feud. Both are brigands by instinct, and both are careless of human life. Perhaps the Káfir is the worst of the two in both respects, but the Afghán makes the account more than even by his added perfidy and cunning.

As war and not peace may be said to be the normal condition of Káfiristán, peace arrangements may be considered before methods of warfare are described. Peace generally happens when two tribes feel themselves equally exhausted, or when one tribe has proved itself overwhelmingly superior to the other. Peace might sometimes be defined as a cessation of hostilities for a longer or shorter period, rather than as peace in our sense of the word. Among themselves it is probably arranged in the first place by some neutral tribe friendly with both. The ratification of such preliminaries depends greatly upon the peace offerings suggested, which the stronger tribe receives, I believe, giving nothing in return. Within the present generation the Kám have been at war with the Wai, the Kashtán, the Mádugál, and the Bashgul Katirs, in addition to their long standing feuds which have never yet been resolved. At the different peace makings, the Kám and the Katirs exchanged a cow for a cow, showing that they considered themselves still equal in strength, while the Wai paid the Kám four cattle and the Kashtán paid 18 cows and 18 axes, in this way indicating that they were more desirous of peace than the Kám. Of what the Mádugál paid I have no record. The animals in each case were sacrificed at Arom's shrine. Peace making.

I am not sure how Káfirs come to an end of hostilities with a Mahomedan people, but they no doubt send and receive messengers, and the Káfirs probably ratify their promises by sacrificing a goat. When war was imminent between the Kám and the Chitrális in 1891, as soon as wiser counsels prevailed on both sides several Káfirs went to see the Mehtar, and solemnly promised to abstain from killing Musselmans in Chitráli territory, and agreed to pay tribute in kind for grazing rights in the Kunar Valley; they confirmed their promises by ceremoniously sacrificing a goat at Chitrál.

It generally takes time for a Káfir, unless utterly crushed, to make up his mind for peace. His furious resentment against his enemy is not quickly cooled down to the overture-making point. After desultory but not bloody warfare on the frontier and after experiencing inconvenience in not being able to get supplies as usual from over the border, he gradually comes to entertain an idea of the desirability of peace.

After a war there are no blood feuds. The High Priest of the Kám had respect and friendship for Karlah Jannah, of Badáwan, notwithstanding the fact that the latter killed the former's brother during the last war between the Kám and the Bashgul Katirs.

In their inter-tribal fights the Káfirs are always desirous of getting outside help. The Mehtar of Chitrál has on more than one occasion allied himself with the Kám against other Káfir tribes and among the never ending family quarrels of the Bashgul Katirs, Amán-ul-Mulk succeeded in obtaining for himself a preponderating influence in that part of the valley. The price paid for the Mehtar's help was usually all or most of the prisoners taken and a certain number of beautiful girls in addition. The late Mehtar was generally willing to send a force to co-operate with the Kám in a raid on those terms, and was paid in a similar way for his support of one of the factions of the Bashgul Katirs. The Wai Káfirs invaded the Presungul with the help of an Afghán force on the terms that their allies might keep all the plunder they could get. Foreign alliances.

When attacked by foreigners, who are always armed with much better firearms and other weapons than the Káfirs possess, the latter usually adopt purely defensive tactics. They hold positions, form little ambuscades, and so forth, but are always prepared to fall back before the superior strength of the enemy. They seek to cut off stragglers, and harass the invader in every possible way. Then, when the enemy from accumulated losses, lack of supplies, or hopelessness of further successes, begins to retreat, the light-footed Káfirs attack him on all sides like a swarm of hornets. Dogged resistance is turned into furious bravery. A Káfir never fights so well as when the advantage is on his side. He plays a winning game splendidly. Each man tries to emulate the traditional heroes of his tribe, and will perform the grandest deeds to gain the admiration of his fellows. I was told of a man named Shyok, one of the most famous living fighters of the Kám tribe, that on one occasion he dashed single-handed into a group of the enemy, stabbed right and left, and escaped uninjured. He is a man of enormous strength, and in spite of his weight is as active as a leopard. Methods of warfare.

The most common plan of carrying on hostilities is for small parties of Káfirs, two or more, to penetrate into the enemy's country and kill sleeping people or women, or form small ambuscades, and then, if successful, hurry back at full speed to dance to Gísh. On such expeditions the Káfirs exhibit the most extraordinary courage and Guerilla warfare.

powers of endurance. In the present Kám-Jandole war they have killed several people close under Umra Khan's feet at Jandole. Their wonderful walking powers enable them to travel distances which seem almost incredible.

Provisions.

On a disturbed frontier many little groups of thin, worn-out looking men may be met marching rapidly but wearily homeward. They represent the unsuccessful warriors. They have to carry their own food, as in the enemy's country it is nearly impossible to get supplies of any kind. There is a particular cake which Káfirs carry on their expeditions. It is made of the refuse from the wine press mixed with flour and ghee. They believe also in the sustaining powers of cream cheese. They carry as much as they can, but must often be half-starved before they got home again. Indeed, they look so always, and come back very thin.

Plundering raids.

When the Káfirs attack in large numbers beyond their own borders, it is, I think, generally with some particular object of plunder. For instance, while I was in the Dungul Valley, news was brought that the Mahomedan enemy of the Kashtán had a large collection of sheep and goats near Bailám. In a wonderfully short space of time a Káfir band, consisting of 250 men, mostly Kashtáns, but numbering among them many Mádugális and Katirs, swept down the valley. Their object was an early morning surprise. They were, to all appearance, half-naked savages, armed for the most part with bows and arrows, spears, and of course daggers. Not a third of the party had matchlocks. Even the spears were very few in number. The pace at which they travelled was extraordinary. They missed the plunder, but succeeded in killing several Mahomedans, whose weapons they brought back as trophies. In such an attacking party as this, there are theoretically no leaders. Each man goes at his own pleasure, and may act on the dictates of his own private judgment. Actually, there is a kind of council of headmen and famous warriors, who decide all points, how the attack is to be managed, and so on. As soon as the fight is over, everybody seems anxious to get home again as fast as possible, and fleet-footed youngsters press on ahead to be the first to spread the news in their village.

The song of victory.

I was standing with some Káfir companions two days after the raiding party had passed me, making arrangements for a return journey, not unmindful of the possibility of the returning braves being followed by an avenging Pathan force, when three men emerged from a grand defile a quarter of a mile further down the valley. They were Káfirs. On catching sight of us, the first man halted for his two companions. The three then formed a line and began a sonorous chant, beginning, "Á í Gísh," and ending with a mighty "Wo," very loud and sharp. This was a pæan of victory. At the first notes my Káfir companions raced away to congratulate the men who brought the good news. The singing meant more than that the Káfirs had been victorious, for it is never sung, I believe, if a single Káfir has been killed. In the singing there were none of those high falsetto notes, so much admired in the east. When the main body came up, the song was resumed at long intervals. On one occasion 30 Mumán men formed up on a flat-topped rock, with the son of their head man a pace in front of them. He and the others began the song, chanting a few words in unison, then all together for a few bars, and ending with a stentorian "Wo," while far behind on the line of march the "Wo" was taken up and repeated by the main body and the stragglers. Finally, a couple of miles above Kámdesh, guns were fired off, and we all separated for our respective homes.

Celebrating a triumph.

When a successful little party has come back the fact is soon known throughout the village. If it returns in the evening it usually camps out all night. Relations go and congratulate the heroes, take them food, and pass a cheery night on the hillside, while the song of triumph is sung at intervals. In the morning, arrayed in much finery, with dancing axes in their hands, they are conducted to the dancing platform, and in company with the women of their family dance to Great Gísh. In the intervals of the dance the women throw wheat grains upon the heroes. The dancing is only performed when small bands return. If a large raiding party or small army comes back victorious there is no dancing, nor is there any if a Káfir has been killed. The dancing of the returned warriors is strictly a family affair, and few outside the men's intimate relations take the trouble to go and see it. In the daytime when news is brought that a victorious party is near at hand, the women run delightedly to wash their faces, fill small wicker baskets with wheat, and go out to meet the braves. The men of the family go also. Proud fathers lead in their sons, who are either kissed actually or a yard off by nearly every one they meet. The Gísh observances are more fully observed at Kámdesh than at Lutdeh. There is always some kind of dancing, but at Lutdeh there is little or no dressing up of the principal characters.

In fighting among themselves Káfirs pursue the same tactics as against foreign enemies. A Káfir will fight just as resolutely in defence of his property as to save his life. When every fighting man of the Bashgul Káfirs went to raid the Amzhi Valley of the Wai they must have outnumbered their opponents by five to one, yet the latter followed them up, got in front of the returning raiders on the hill-side, and in their frantic attempt to get back their flocks and herds engaged in severe hand-to-hand fighting. As a rule a Káfir always loves to have numerical superiority on his side. I know an instance where six men hid in the long grass on the edge of a field where a Sheikh and his wife were working. Waiting their opportunity they rushed at the man and seized his hands in the old "Thug" fashion and then stabbed him to death, catching and killing the woman subsequently. On another occasion a small party concealed themselves for days near an enemy's goat pens. Every night they surrounded the place. At length one night a man emerged to fetch water from the river. As he was stooping down to fill his pitcher he was seized by the arms and killed. The assailants then sat down to watch again. The men in the goat pens four or five in number, suspicious of the delay of their companion, then came forth armed with guns, when the others decamped and raced back to their village. Káfirs spare neither man, woman, nor child. All alike are considered mortal enemies. One Kám man I know, who used to twist his moustaches as only famous warriors may do without being jeered at, based his claim to renown on the fact that he had murdered nine women and one man. With Afgháns, the moment one of their number has been killed by a Káfir, all turn out, seize their arms, and follow the assassin in the hope of catching him. Káfirs sometimes take advantage of this and form a big ambush. Two or three of their number then go on in the hope of killing an Afghán. If they succeed they run back through the ambush which is then ready for the pursuers. I know one instance in which the manoeuvre was terribly successful. The Afgháns on their part are not one whit behind the Káfirs in ruthlessness. Just before I arrived in Kámdesh a small party of Afgháns managed to cross the ridge to the south of the village. They found four little boys tending goats. They murdered the children on the spot.

Káfir weapons are the dagger, bows and arrows, spears and matchlocks. The peculiar shape of the Káfir dagger is too well known to require an elaborate description. The commoner and cheaper varieties are about a foot in length; from the top of the hilt to the point of the blade is just under 13 inches. The blade is 8 inches long, and gradually tapers from the hilt, where it is just over an inch in breadth to the point. It is double edged, and a little over a quarter of an inch thick at the hilt. It is grooved down the middle on both sides, nearly to the point. The hilt guard is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches from side to side, and ornamented at each extremity by a circular convex brass button, firmly riveted to its upper surface. Three and a half inches above the guard, and parallel with it, is another cross-piece of iron, very strong and carefully ornamented. Between this and the guard the shaft of the hilt is so fashioned that four fingers may close on it firmly each in its own groove. The weapon as a whole is much more powerful than it looks. The rivetting of the blade to the handle allows a slight movement of the blade, which gives a deceptive appearance of weakness. The sheath is made of iron or brass with an inner backing of wood. The back of the sheath is incompletely closed by metal, and permits the wood lining to be seen. The top of the sheath has an ornamented brass collar, while at the lower end it terminates in a metal knob with a constriction just above, which is often tightly bound round with iron or brass wire. Costly daggers have brass sheaths, which are frequently ornamented with silver studs at the top.

Weapons:
the Káfir
dagger.

Káfir bows are distinctly feeble looking, but a skilful man will shoot with fair accuracy up to 80 yards. The arrows are unfeathered. They are 24 inches long. The shaft is made of reed, bound in the middle and at both ends with very fine string. The arrow-head is of a peculiar shape. It is three-sided, and has three sharp edges which meet at the point, and are peculiar from the fact that their other extremity is prolonged backwards from a quarter to half an inch beyond the base of the bayonet-shaped arrow-head. This must make the arrow very difficult to extract from a wound. The sharp edges are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Bows and
arrows.

The spears are fitted with a straight blade pointed at the end, and are often ornamented with a brass stud or two. At the base they are furnished with a stout prong for thrusting into the ground. A peculiarity of some of the spears is that what looks like a long prong is substituted for the straight double-edged blade mentioned above.

Spears.

The Káfir matchlocks are purchased at the frontier. None are manufactured in the country itself. They make extremely bad shooting and cannot be trusted to go near a small mark—an envelope, for instance—at a greater distance than 20 or 30

Matchlocks.

yards. Káfirs brag a good deal about the power of their fire-arms, but I have watched them practising at a mark using a rest, and have seen them shoot markhor many times, and I should much prefer them to shoot at me with a matchlock at 40 or 50 yards than to have a good man aim at me with an arrow at the same distance when I was not looking. For the matchlocks the Káfirs carry leather pouches for ammunition, flint and steel of an ordinary description, and bandoleers, which at a short distance look like Pan pipes.

Shields and
swords.

Shields are all imported, and are more for ornament than for use. There are very few swords, and mutilation of a dead enemy is never practised. What swords there are, have been received by their owners as presents from Mahomedan chiefs.

The cannon
of the Kám.

The Kám are very proud of possessing a cannon. It is kept in the ground floor of a house at the top of the village. It was made by Dir men, who were brought to Kámdesh for the purpose. It is very solid and heavy. The metal on the outer surface is rough and knobby. The length of the barrel is 3 feet 6 inches, and the diameter of the muzzle 4 inches. A leaden ball and a block of wood are said to be fired simultaneously by this weapon. It is carried about from place to place on cross-pieces of wood, and requires for its transport three score or five score men, according to different informants. It has been in action and performed prodigies according to the Kám, notably on one occasion during a siege of the village of Apsai in the last Katir war. It must be fastened to a tree in order to fire it. It has no stand or carriage of any kind. The Kám are inordinately proud of the possession of the weapon, but I doubt if they would care to use it again, except for the sake of its moral effect.

Axes and
clubs.

The dancing and other axes are not intended for fighting purposes, although the small variety might be so employed on an emergency. The walking club of which Káfirs are so fond, and which they delight to ornament with carving about the handle end, is only used in quarrels. I was told that an ordinary head would smash the club unless the latter were shortened in the grasp, and merely the thick lower end used to strike with.

SECTION XI.

RELIGION AND THE CALENDAR.

The Káfir
Pantheon.

The Káfir religion is a somewhat low form of idolatry, with an admixture of ancestor worship and some traces of fire-worship also. The gods and goddesses are numerous and of varying degrees of importance or popularity. I believe that Imra the Creator, Moni, commonly spoke of as the prophet, Gísh the war-god, Bagisht, Dizane, Krumai, and Nirmali, are common to all the tribes, but there are several inferior deities or godlings who seem to be peculiar to particular localities. It is probable, almost certain, that the same god is known by different names by different tribes, but, even if we allow for this, there must still be many gods who are unknown or disregarded, except by particular tribes, or even in particular villages. In Presungul every village is supposed to be under the care of one special god whom the villagers worship and honour above all others. The god Arom is the tutelary deity of the Kám tribe, but he appears to be rather unpopular, and I imagine that he is rarely or never sacrificed to except when a peace is concluded. On such occasions the cattle which constitute the peace offering from the enemy, are sacrificed before his shrine.

Difficulty of
investiga-
tion.

The difficulty of getting information from the Káfirs about their religion is very great. In Presungul the people at first protested against my being shown their gods at all, and it was only after they had been assured by my companions that I was a "Káfir" like themselves, that they gave me somewhat reluctant consent. The Bashgul Káfirs had no objections of this kind, indeed they seemed to take a peculiar pleasure in showing me their little temples and in inviting me to be present at their ceremonies. On those occasions they were in the habit of watching my face narrowly, as if anxious to discover from my features my opinion about their observances. With them the chief difficulty was that they seemed to know so little themselves about their own theology. I was constantly referred for information from one man to another, but each succeeding informant seemed to know less than his predecessor, while the little he had to tell was only extracted after the expenditure of much time and trouble. Cross-examination of a Káfir irritates, when it does not bore him or send him to sleep. If pressed with what he considers tiresome questions the man not unfrequently jumps

up and makes a clean bolt of it. I had mainly to rely upon little stories of the gods which were related to me and other listeners in the evening round a fire by Utah the High Priest, and a man named Karlah Jannah, who was a born story-teller, but who unhappily was extraordinarily impatient of anything like interruption, and equally disliked subsequent questions designed to clear up doubtful points in a narrative. Dán Malik, of Kámdesh, was the man who by common repute knew more about the principles of his religion than any other person, but I never succeeded in getting much information from him. He had a habit of always turning the tables on me by plying me with questions, besides which he seemed to think that the most interesting points for discussion were whether the English or Russians were created first by Imra, which country was first created, how many daughters "Baba" Adam had, and many other similar speculations, which he would return to again and again to the exclusion of all other religious questions.

It must be remembered that the Bashgul Káfirs are no longer an isolated community in the strict sense of the word. They frequently visit Chitrál and have dealings with other Mahomedan peoples as well. Many of their relatives have embraced Islám without abandoning the ties of relationship. One of the results of this free intercourse with Musselmans is that Bashgul Káfirs at the present day are very apt to mix up their own religious traditions with those of their Mahomedan neighbours. This greatly confuses matters, and I feel it is hopeless for me to try to write anything final, or even moderately comprehensive, concerning the religion of Káfiristán. I must content myself with a modest record of what I actually saw and actually heard. Possibly a better acquaintance with the Bashgul language might have made many things clear to me which now remain dark, and perhaps if my interpreters had been better the same result might have followed, but I myself incline to the opinion that the chief reason why I discovered so little about the Káfir faith is because the Káfirs themselves know so little on the subject. I imagine that in Káfiristán the forms of religion remain, while the philosophy which those forms were originally intended to symbolise is altogether forgotten. This is not, perhaps, surprising in a country in which there are no records of any kind, and everything depends on oral tradition.

The Bashgul Káfirs, or at any rate the younger portion of the community, are inclined to be somewhat sceptical. They are superstitious, of course, but I have often witnessed sacred ceremonies burlesqued or scoffed at when two or three waggish young men have been together. Gísh is the really popular god of the Bashgul youth. In their worship of him there is great sincerity. I have been asked by a young Káfir if we English did not prefer Gísh to Imra (the Creator) as he himself did, and many Káfirs have expressed their disappointment on learning that "Franks" knew nothing of Gísh. Scepticism.

The older people are devout in their respect for all the gods, but Bashgul Káfirs seem to abandon their religion without much regret. They leave it, as they return to it, chiefly from motives of material advantage and rarely appear to trouble themselves about religious convictions. The purest form of the Káfir religion is probably to be found in the Presungul. I was told that although the Bashgul Káfirs had no objection to my bringing fowls into their valley, the Presungulis would never permit it in theirs. In Presungul there is a distinct atmosphere of religion. Devil's villages abound, the old watercourses are currently believed to have been built by gods or goddesses, miraculous imprints of divine or demoniac hands are shown on rocks, there is an iron pillar which is said to have been placed in its present position by Imra himself, and a sacred hole in the ground to look down which is certain death to anyone. Large tracts of fertile land lie undisturbed by the plough because they are consecrated to Imra. Most important of all, the valley possesses a great temple of Imra, famous throughout all Káfiristán. The Presuns unfortunately speak a language which I was told that no one can ever learn. However that may be, it is certain that no Bashguli can talk it, while I myself could never remember a single word used at any of the sacrifices I witnessed. To me the invocations and incantations were merely soft musical mewings. The Presuns were very friendly after a short acquaintance and looked upon me not only as a very great man but also as one who might be trusted. But the fatal language difficulty always prevented my learning much from them. On my leaving their valley a deputation of notables came to ask me a favour. This was that I should ask Imra to make their country a little warmer. They evidently believed that I had the power of influencing the god in the direction they desired.

Bashgulis
and Presuns
contrasted.

Theology.

In the Káfir theology there appears to be both a heaven and a hell. It divides the universe into Urdesh, the world above, the abode of the gods, Míchdes, the earth, and Yurdes, the nether world. Both the heaven and the hell for mortals is in Yurdes, which is reached through a great pit, at the mouth of which a custodian named Maramalík, specially created by Imra for the purpose, is always seated. He permits no one in Yurdes to return to the upper world.

When a man dies his soul or breath—the word “shon” has both meanings—enters into one of the shadow forms we see in dreams, which then becomes a “partir.” Good people appear to wander about as shades in a paradise in Yurdes called Bisht, while as a common Káfir phrase goes, “Wicked sinners are always burning in fire,” in Zozuk (hell). Káfirs have no intense fear of death, although they cannot understand suicide. The idea of a man killing himself strikes them as inexplicable. They are never melancholy. The gods are worshipped by sacrifices, by dances, by singing hymns (Lálu kunda), and by uttering invocations (namach kunda). Fairies and demons are propitiated by sacrifices. The only phrase I know which is comparable to our “profane swearing” is “Shut Imra di psálá,” (May the curse of God strike you!)

List of the
chief deities.

The principal gods and goddesses are:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| (1.) Imra. | |
| (2.) Moni. | |
| (3.) Gísh. | |
| (4.) Bagisht. | |
| (5.) Arom. | |
| (6.) Sanru. | |
| (7.) Saranji or Sauranju. | |
| (8.) Satarám or Sudaram. | |
| (9.) Inthr. | |
| (10.) Duzhi. | |
| (11.) Nong. | |
| (12.) Paráde. | |
| (13.) Shomde. | |
| (14.) Dizane. | } Goddesses. |
| (15.) Nirmali. | |
| (16.) Krumai or Shumai. | |

Besides gods and goddesses, there are demons, the chief of whom is Yush, and fairies innumerable. The High Priest of the Kám instructed me as follows:—

Imra is the creator of all things in heaven and earth. By the breath of his mouth he endowed with life his “prophets” Moni, Gísh, Satarám, and the rest, but Dizane sprang into existence from his right breast. Placing her in the palm of his hand, Imra threw her violently upwards. She alighted in a lake, and was concealed and released in a manner to be described presently. Of the inferior deities or “prophets” only Bagisht was born of a woman and not created at once by Imra’s breath. Besides creating the godlings, Imra also created seven daughters, whose special province it is to watch over the work of agriculture with a protecting hand. As the time for sowing approaches goats are sacrificed in their honour, in order that crops may be ample, and the earth beneficent.

Imra also created fairies and demons, but the latter gave so much trouble to the world that Moni, with the divine permission, almost entirely exterminated them. One terrible fiend, a devil of the worst type, on one occasion was dancing before Moni. The prophet removed a screw or plug from the demon’s body surreptitiously. He repeated the act until seven screws had been withdrawn, when the body of the evil one fell to pieces. From the fragments of the body, seven in number, seven fresh demons sprang to life, but Moni slew them all with his sword.

Story of
Bagisht.

The story of the birth of Bagisht, was told as follows by the Kám priest:—

“In a distant land unknown to living men a large tree grew in the middle of a lake. The tree was so big that if any one had attempted to climb it he would have taken nine years to accomplish the feat, while the spread of its branches was so great that it would occupy 18 years to travel from one side of it to the other. Satarám became enamoured of the tree, and journeyed towards it. On his near approach he was suddenly seized with a mighty trembling, and the huge tree burst asunder, disclosing the goddess Dizane in the centre of its trunk. Satarám had, however, seen enough;

he turned round and fled. Dizane began to milk goats (a question as to where the goats were, in the water or on the tree, was thrust aside with a wave of the hand). While she was engaged in this occupation a devil observed her. He had four eyes, two in front and two behind. Rushing forward he seized Dizane by the breast, while she bent her head to her knees, quaking with terror. The fiend tried to reassure her saying, 'It is for you I have come.' At that instant she became pregnant. As the days of her term approached their completion, she wandered into the Presungul and stepping into the swift flowing river, gave birth to an infant, who at once unaided stepped ashore, the turbulent waters becoming quiet, and piling themselves up on either hand to allow the child to do so. The country people were astounded at the prodigy. They hurried to the scene, and on the river bank found a little boy seated on a stone. The child at this started down the river by himself, leaving all spectators bewildered. He had gone only a short distance when he met a man who asked him his name. He replied 'You know my name, I do not.' The stranger then informed him that he was Bagisht, and that he would always be known by that name thereafter."

To understand the Káfir idea of Imra, the Creator, some more stories must be told. Many of them are bald and inconsequential; others illustrate the fact that the Káfirs have endowed Imra with many of their own special characteristics. Of the first kind the two following stories will be sufficient:—(a) Once upon a time Imra and the Devil (Yush) rode a horserace. Imra's horse was made of gold; the Devil's of iron. For some time neither gained an advantage until Imra created innumerable rats which burrowed into the ground and made an immense number of holes, over which the Devil's horse stumbled and blundered, allowing Imra to win easily. (b) Imra once gave a book to the Devil, and after a time demanded it back again. The Devil refused to give it up on the plausible ground that it had been given to him, and was his. Then Imra and he had a fight, the Devil was killed, and the book recovered.

Legends of
Imra.

The following are better stories:—

(1.) Imra and all the prophets—the narrator of this story was a Persian-speaking Káfir, who used the Persian word for prophet to denote all the gods except Imra—were seated one day at the mouth of the valley up which runs a road from the Skorigul to the Presungul. The goddess Krumai, in the shape of a goat, came over from Tirich* Mir, and went among them, but none recognised her except Imra, who took an opportunity when she was not looking to push her into the mountain stream. Struggling out of the water Krumai ran diagonally up the steep rock, leaving the marks still visible in a vein of mineral of a colour different from the rest of the rock. When she got to the top she began kicking down showers of stones on to the gods below, to their great annoyance. Imra told them that the goat was Krumai, and added that he alone had been clever enough to discover that fact. On hearing this they all abjured Krumai to behave better. She thereupon assumed her proper shape, came down amongst them, and subsequently entertained them all at a sumptuous banquet, which she brought from Tirich Mir, and served on silver dishes.

(2.) Imra one day sat himself on the rocky spur at the junction of the Kti and Presun rivers. He was engaged in making butter in a golden goatskin churn. From the skin three women emerged, who went and populated different countries. Imra then added water and a fourth woman was created, who settled in Presungul.

(3.) Once Imra took the sun and the moon from the heavens, and the world became buried in darkness. Everybody died except one man, who prayed to God for a little light. Moved by pity, Imra gave the man a bit of the sun, and a bit of the moon, which he fastened on each side of him, and then, mounting his horse, rode away. Wherever he went there was just sufficient light for him to guide his horse. After a time he reached Presungul when Imra appeared in front of him. "Hullo," said the man "who are you?" "I am Imra," was the reply. The horseman was speechless with astonishment. "Let us perform the ceremony of friendship," suggested Imra, but the man pointed out that they had not a goat. "Never mind that," replied Imra "I will soon fetch one." Saying that he stepped over to the mountains by the Zidig, and returned with a fine goat. "But," objected the man, "where is the knife to sacrifice it with?" He had no sooner uttered these words than the goat began to dig up the ground vigorously with its fore feet, shaking its body all the time as a wet dog does. At the bottom of the shallow hole made by the goat, a knife was revealed.

* Tirich Mir is a sacred mountain. At Badáwan (Ahmed Dawáná) there is a small square erection in the usual Káfir style, like the pedestal of an effigy. This is surmounted by what is said to be a model of Tirich Mir. Before this curious shrine goats are sacrificed to the gods and fairies supposed to live on the mountain.

Imra seized it, and he and the man went through the ceremony of swearing brotherhood. When it was over Imra said, "Now what are you going to give me?" "I have nothing," replied the man; "what can I give?" "You have your horse," persisted Imra, "give me that." "But I shall have nothing to go about on," protested the man, "no, I cannot give you my horse." Thereupon Imra summoned an angel, who quietly stole the man's horse and led it away. As it was being carried off in this way, the horse cried out "I have a sword in my ear, pull it out and kill all your enemies." Imra drew the sword out of the horse's ear, and used it against his enemies as directed. He subsequently replaced the sun and the moon in the sky, and light was restored to the earth.

(4.) A good story was told me about the sacred tree whose branches were seven families of brothers, each seven in number, while the trunk was Dizane, and the roots Nirmali, but the record of this story was lost in a mountain torrent.

(5.) After Imra created the world "Baba" Adam and his wife were in Kashmir. They and their 40 children were on one occasion sleeping in pairs, and when they woke up, no single pair understood the language of another pair. They were then ordered by Imra to march off in couples and populate the world. They went most unwillingly, declaring that Kashmir was good enough for them, but Imra's orders had to be obeyed.

(6.) The reason why iron is found in some countries is that Imra cast a devil made of iron into each of those countries. This was told me in the course of conversation, and my companion Karlah Jannah was astonished that I had never seen a certain iron bridge in Kashmir made out of the body of a devil.

(7.) Once Imra and all the godlings were seated on a hill top, while in front of them were a golden bed and a golden stool. "These belong to me," observed Imra. "Not at all" cried the others, "they belong to us all in common." "Very well," rejoined Imra, "we will soon see who has the power to use them to the exclusion of everybody else." With that remark he sat himself on the beautiful bed. All the other gods looked confounded, no one venturing to say anything.

(8.) On a second occasion Imra took the sun and the moon from the sky, and, fastening them one on each side of him, rode into the centre of the mountains behind Kstigigrom in Presungul, where he went to sleep. But he had been watched by seven devils, who, finding him fast asleep, carried away the horse and fastened it in a house. Of course, all this time the world was in darkness, and the gods were blundering about on the road, falling and hurting themselves. "What shall we do?" they cried in despair. Presently one of them (I forget which), fancied he perceived a track of light. This was really the path taken by the horse. Following it up the god came to the house where the horse was confined, and then, through a crack in the door, saw what had happened. He went back at once and told his brother gods. They all went in a body, broke down the door, and liberated the horse. While they were leading him out, the horse observed that he had a sword in his ear, which should be pulled out, and with it the devils ought to be put to death. The gods at once obeyed this injunction. Afterwards the sun and the moon were restored to the heavens, and the world was again illuminated.

(9.) The following story seems to show that other gods besides Imra are possessed of creative powers to some extent. Inthr made Badáwan (Ahmed Diwána) his resting place, and there created vineyards and pleasant places; but Imra suddenly declared the place was his. Inthr refused to give way and a severe fight ensued, in which he was worsted, and was compelled to retreat down the valley a short space, when he created the hill south of Badáwan and also the Skorigul Valley. But Imra again attacked him and once more drove him away, so that he was compelled to abandon the Bashgul Valley altogether and fly for refuge to the Tsarogul.

(10.) But Imra often helps his people. Once upon a time there was an enormous snake which inhabited the Minján end of the Bashgul Valley. He used to lie in wait for travellers on the top of certain high rocks, still pointed out, as are also the tracks by which he used to descend and eat up the unlucky strangers. The tracks indicated are some light quartz veins which show distinctly against the darker ground of the rocks. Imra, pitying the people, sent a messenger to the snake, ordering him to desist from the evil practices; but the snake not only paid no attention to Imra's remonstrances, but ate up the messenger who conveyed them. Then Imra came himself, and slew the snake by cutting up its head. The large tarn above Badáwan was formed from the flood which flowed from the snake's head. The very spot where the fabulous reptile was killed was shown me by a Káfir.

Imra is sacrificed to very frequently, sometimes from motives of simple and general piety, especially by the older and more thoughtful members of the community, sometimes for particular reasons, such as recovery from sickness, thanksgiving for seasonable weather, and for other material benefits. At the religious dances he is not more honoured than many of the other gods and goddesses. He receives three rounds, but there is none of the enthusiasm which is infused into the dances for Gísh, or the light-heartedness which accompanies the comical steps and posturings in honour of Krumai. Possibly, in former times, Imra the Creator was chiefly worshipped, but at the present time Gísh is certainly the popular deity in the Bashgul valley, while Imra probably retains his proper ascendancy in the Presungul and in other places. Cows are commonly sacrificed to Imra everywhere in Káfiristán.

Imra's sacrifices and temples.

Imra's temples are in every valley, and are also met with far away from any dwelling-houses. They sometimes contain a wooden idol, sometimes merely a block of stone. In Kámdesh there are two principal places where sacrifices are made to Imra. One is a little temple at the top of the spur in which the valley is built, the other is a simple stone some 3 ft. by 1 ft. by 1 ft., which is placed on end under a mulberry tree, four hundred feet lower down the slope close by a very sacred pool. The stone is blackened with the blood of countless sacrifices, while the shrine above the village is comparatively rarely visited.

The chief temple to Imra is at Presungul at Kstigigrom, which is undoubtedly the most sacred village in the whole of Káfiristán. The temple itself is an imposing structure, elaborately ornamented. It is between 50 ft. and 60 ft. square, and about 20 ft. high. On its east side it has a square portico which covers as much space as the temple itself, and is supported on carved wooden pillars forming a kind of rough colonnade. The portico is open to the east and south, but is boarded up on the north side. Its height is a few feet below that of the temple, and when I saw it the roof was in a dangerous state of disrepair. The carving of the pillars is supposed to be very fine. They are all fashioned after one of three designs. A favourite one is to have a row of rams' heads, one on each side of the column, extending from the top to the base. Another popular design is to carve at the foot of the pillar an animal's head from which the horns are made to extend the entire height of the pillar, crossing and re-crossing each other at intervals, and ending above in points between which a grotesque face appears with hands grasping each horn a few inches from the top. The third variety is of the common basket pattern form. Under this portico many sacrifices are made; a large offal heap to the south shows that the offering are cattle. There is a sacrificing stone in the colonnade, and near it one or two niches for idols. The east side of the temple on to which the portico is built, has seven famous doors of large size, and above each another smaller door. Of the seven large doors, five cannot be opened; they are securely fastened up. The other two at the south end of the east front are thrown open on solemn occasions when the people are allowed to enter and view the holy place. On these two doors and in a line with them on the dummy doors and in the intervening spaces are eight colossal wooden figures of Imra. The effigies are hewn out of the wood, and stand in relief against the great planks which constitute the greater part of the front or east wall of the temple. The figures are probably seven feet high, and represent Imra seated and working a goat skin butter-churn. The face of each is prodigious. The square cut chin reaches within a hand's breadth of the goat skin on the god's knees. The brows and nose are, in the majority of the figures, scored with lines, while those on the two doors have rough iron bells suspended between the eyes. The goat skins are represented as carved all over. Above the faces of the images a large circular head-dress appears with a horizontal line of carving across the middle, and vertical cuttings running upwards and downwards from it. Between several of the figures there are rows of what appear to be intended for cows' or rams' heads. From one of these rows the heads can be drawn out of their sockets, and the glories of the interior are partially disclosed. Above the colossal images is a board ornamented with small figures and horns. On the outer side of the temple to the north are five other huge wooden figures which help to support the roof. On the south side the ornamentation is almost entirely confined to the upper part of the wall, which consists of a series of carved panels. On the west there is little or no attempt at ornament of any kind.

I was only permitted to view the interior through the peep holes already referred to, which afforded me merely a tantalizing glimpse. In the centre of the floor there is a square fireplace, from the four corners of which pillars extend to the roof of the building. On each of these pillars more than one subject had been carefully cut. For instance,

on one of them were two huge faces. Facing the entrance there was in the middle of the west wall a structure which looked like an altar. It was built of clay and provided with a wooden shelf. Above this, on the wall, was something I at first mistook for a square cloth, but which I eventually satisfied myself was a design painted in squares. On the same wall to the south were other similarly designed but differently shaped paintings, and drawings of animals done in the usual Káfir conventional style. I could just see a portion of the top of an idol of Imra, occupying the north-east corner of the temple. Projecting from the top of the temple and corresponding with this spot, there was a small wedge-shaped wooden structure which looked like the roof of a canopy over the idol. As far as could be seen, the walls of the temple were adorned all round with carved hats of an irregular half spherical shape, stuck on the end of poles. The whole temple must have occupied a great deal of time and labour for the Presuns to complete, so simple are they, and so rude are their tools. It is regarded by them and by all other Káfirs as a stupendous monument to the glory of Imra.

Imra's hand-writing.

Close to the south wall of the temple outside is a small square wood and stone erection about four feet high and of the usual construction, with poles surmounted by rams' heads at each corner. Upon it are certain stones, believed by the Káfirs to bear the impressions of Imra's hand in the shape of sacred writing. These supposed writings of the Almighty consist merely of a curious arrangement of a dark lustrous mineral in a greyish blue stone. The stones themselves are smooth and water-worn, and the dark lustrous flaws are like the wavy V's which children use for depicting birds. People in bad health often sacrifice to these stones with the very best results.

The mysterious hole.

A short distance from the temple in thick grass near the river is the famous hole. All that is to be seen is a patch of jungle grass, limited in extent and easily overlooked. I was particularly requested not to approach the spot, and replied that as I was a guest and a visitor of the tribe I would not think of doing so. The spot had already been examined by Afghán raiders, brought into the country by the Wai tribe, and the priests possibly thought that if I also went to see the sacred hole, their fables might be exposed. The sceptical Afgháns did not suffer in any way, so the revised legend about the hole now is that any Káfir looking down it dies at once, and that Christians are also Káfirs. The old story was that anyone looking down the hole saw the nether world and died at once. An old Káfir once assured me that he had seen with his own eyes a man killed in this way. Occasionally, not more than once in many years, a horse is obtained from somewhere and sacrificed at this spot. The officiating priest moves backwards, not daring to look behind him, and cautiously removes a few of the stones which encircle the orifice. Then, taking some of the horse's blood, he throws it backwards over his shoulder, and after replacing the stones, quickly moves away.

Imra's iron bar.

Close by the temple, in a house in the valley, there is a miraculous iron bar placed in its present position by Imra himself. I was with some reluctance conducted into the apartment where the bar was said to be buried under a heap of juniper-cedar branches. The proprietor of the house, a great and holy man, seemed greatly relieved on finding I listened to all he had to say about this iron pillar and yet showed no inclination to verify his statements by searching the heap of branches.

Other places sacred to Imra.

There are large tracts of meadow land bordering the river in the Presun country which are reserved in honour of Imra. In these places cattle may graze but the grass may not be cut for fodder, nor may ploughs turn over the soil. Besides the great temple at Kstigigrom there are other temples to Imra in probably every village in Káfiristán; also at particular places, such as Ahmed Diwána, below Purstám, on the left bank of the Bashgul river, and many other sacred spots. These temples or shrines are small, and have no peculiarity distinguishing them from those of the other gods. They are about five feet square and perhaps six feet high.* The lower two-thirds or three-fourths are made of rubble masonry, built between wooden frames of squared timbers. The top part is often entirely of wood with a door or window in front, through which the idol, or the sacred stone which does duty for the idol, may be seen. In some cases poles are placed at the corners of the wooden roof. The poles are sometimes surmounted by fragments of iron, such as tongueless bells, iron skull-pieces, and other similar objects, placed there to commemorate some successful raid, during which they were obtained and brought back as trophies.

* The dimensions of these shrines are given from memory only. The references in my diaries generally run: "Imra's shrine, usual size and shape," "Imra's house, ordinary pattern," and so on. These objects were so commonly seen that I must have imagined they had been described over and over again in my different diaries, but no actual measurements are anywhere recorded.

Imra almost always has a shrine to himself. So also have Gísh and Moni, although not invariably. The other gods are often associated, three, four, or even five being worshipped in one idol-house, the breadth of which is then proportionately enlarged, and each idol appears at its own particular window. At Kámdesh, near the east part of the valley, is a very sacred spot with a temple to Gísh fitted with a door which is removed for a limited period each year. At three of the corners poles project upwards, two of which are crowned with caps, one of iron, the other of mail, brought back from some successful foray, the third is hung round with a bunch of tongueless, roughly-made iron bells, which are carried about and clashed together at a particular festival. Immediately facing Gísh's shrine is a similar but smaller structure dedicated to Moni. It is occupied by three stones in a row, the middle and largest being worshipped as Moni. At Imra's shrine, at the top of the village, a conventionally carved face appears at the little door, but the popular place for sacrificing to him is at the foot of the village, where there is the simple block of stone under a mulberry tree, which has been already referred to. Near it also there is a sacred muddy pool dug out of the hillside and protected by a door. To the north of the east part of the village of Bragamátál there is a shrine on the hillside which is hung about with juniper-cedar all along the front. It has five windows, from four of which idols look out into the world. To begin from the right there are Dizane, Shumai or Krumai, Saranji, and Satarám. Dizane's idol has a round face with white stones for eyes, and an irregular white quartz fragment for a mouth. She has a cheerful and even comical appearance, while the others having the usual extensive flat surface for the lower part of the face, and no mouths, either because time has removed them or the shadows conceal the short lines intended to represent teeth and lips look extraordinarily solemn. In Presungul the idol-houses are much more carved and ornamented than in the Bashgul valley, while the god is often shown seated under a wedge-shaped roof, and sometimes engaged in playing a musical instrument. At Diogrom there is a Monitán (Moni place, *i.e.*, shrine) where the "prophet" is made into an extraordinary shape. He is furnished with large circular eyes with a dot in the middle, he has cat-like moustaches, and appears to be holding his head in his hands, the face peering out between the points of long horns which starting from below cross and recross each other till they reach the god's chin. Occasionally the shrine is placed on top of a village tower in Presungul, a plan I have seen in no other district. The only really elaborate shrine I know in the Bashgul Valley is Dizane's at Kámdesh. It was built by men brought from Presungul for this purpose. It is covered with carving and has the wedge-shaped roof so common in Presungul and practically never seen in the Bashgul Valley except at this place. Along both sides of the base of the sloping roof poles are fixed and support wooden images of birds, said to be pigeons. This is really a very pretty little temple. Some of the shrines, however, are allowed to fall into a dilapidated state, as for instance at Ahmed Díwána, but they are not necessarily unpopular on that account. It seems to be no one's business to repair isolated shrines, and in the Bashgul Valley no Káfir is fervid enough or sufficiently public-spirited to do the work. In Presungul they are always in good repair.

Besides the idols or sacred stones in idol-houses, there are a large number of other sacred stones set up in different places to which sacrifices are regularly made. Some are said to be of divine or supernatural origin, some have been placed in their present position to be worshipped, others have been erected to the memory of ancestors. It is of the first two varieties only that I speak at present. Besides the Imra stone at Kámdesh, there is another famous stone at the meeting of the Kti and Presun rivers, which is said to have been placed there by Imra himself, and there are many others, all over Káfiristán. Bagisht has a popular place of worship at the mouth of the Skorigul, Duzhi and Bagisht have sacred stones near Urmir village, and numerous other instances might be cited. Sometimes a sacrifice is made to one of these stones from a long distance, as for instance from the top of Kámdesh village to Bagisht's shrine at the mouth of the Skorigul.

It would seem that Moni, called emphatically "the" prophet, ought to be ranked next to Imra. He is worshipped with more respect than enthusiasm, especially at Kámdesh and Bragamátál. In Presungul he retains his rightful position in the Káfir Pantheon. Traditionally he is the god always selected by Imra to carry out his orders, to exterminate demons, and so forth, and there are few stories related of him in any other connexion. In spite of the popularity of Gísh worship, I believe Moni is the head of the inferior deities. In almost every village he has a shrine. At Kamu his little temple is better than that of any other god, but at all places he is occasionally sacrificed to by pious persons, when he shows, in a way elsewhere described, that he is desirous of a sacrifice. In Presungul, at the upper part of the valley, there

Gods
grouped for
worship.

Sacred stones
outside
temples.

Moni.

are two small patches of glacier several miles apart opposite to one another. They are called Moni's marks, and are affirmed to be the places where the gods stand to play the game of aluts. At the village of Diogrom I was shown a block of stone of no great size, an isolated fragment of gneiss. Its presence in the village was accounted for in the following way. Once upon a time, for some reason not stated, Moni found himself in Hell. He wished to get out, but could not. An eagle at length offered to carry the prophet up to the earth, but Moni doubted the bird's ability to perform such a feat. The eagle, however, made good its words, and placing the prophet on one wing and the stone on the other as a counterpoise, flew up through the earth and emerged at Diogrom, where he deposited the prophet and the stone, which remains to this day to testify to the truth of the narrative. At the religious dances Moni is honoured equally with the other gods by being given three rounds, but there is nothing peculiar about the ceremony.

Gísh.

Gísh, or Great Gísh as he is always called, is by far the most popular god of the Bashgul Káfirs. Every village has one or more shrines dedicated to his worship. He is the war god, and however sceptical the Bashgul youth may be on some points they are all fervid in their admiration for and devotion to Gísh. The Chief of the Kalash villagers of Utzun once informed me he was of real Káfir blood through his mother, and to emphasize the difference between him and the other Kalash villagers, told me the Utzun people worshipped Gísh, whose shrine had been erected by the speaker's father. On this account he affirmed that the Utzun folk were true Káfirs. In order to compliment a Káfir and to make his eyes glisten it is only needful to compare him to Gísh, and it is impossible to say a more acceptable thing to a Káfir woman than to call her "Gísh istri," that is, Gísh's wife. Gísh in the Káfir idea was not born of a woman. His life was derived direct from Imra; by a word he was created. He lived on this earth as a man. He was first and foremost a warrior, a man of iron nerves, fierce and sudden in his terrible onslaughts. He spent his life in fighting and died as a hero should. In his furious lightning-like attacks and in his desperate enterprises he was successful above all others. He is the Káfir type of a true man, and can never be sufficiently honoured. Fabulous numbers of enemies felt the weight of his fateful hand. He killed Hazrat Ali, he killed Hassan and Hassein, in short he killed nearly every famous Mahomedan the Káfirs ever heard of. After killing Hazrat Ali he played with the head with a polo stick just as the Chitráli princes play polo at the present day. Some say Gísh's earthly name was Yasid. Several villages pride themselves on possessing two idol-houses dedicated to Gísh. At Kámdesh there is only one, but an extraordinary number of bulls and male goats must be sacrificed before it every year. The front of the shrine is black with coagulated blood. Dozens of goats are killed there at a time, and the temple is drenched with the ladlefuls of blood cast upon it. The initiatory sacrifices for the Jast ceremonies are performed at Gísh's shrine. That grimy little temple must have looked upon many other ghastly ceremonies, the worst of which perhaps is when a wretched Mahomedan prisoner is brought there for a regular service, in which probably nearly the whole of the village participates, and is then taken to the coffin box of some dead warrior and there slain in order to satisfy the indignant ghost of the deceased. For the last 11 days of April, and during the first four days of May 1891, every morning and night for a full hour slaves beat drums in honour of Gísh. During the same period and for four additional days the "inspired" priest Sharu, having taken the tongueless iron bells already referred to from Gísh's shrine, went about the village ringing them against one another. He carried them on three iron rings six inches in diameter, three bells on each ring, and occasionally dusted them with a small branch of juniper-cedar. At night he deposited them in any house he chose, when the delighted householder at once sacrificed a male goat, and made merry with his friends. During his wanderings about the village Sharu was followed by troops of little boys, to whom he occasionally threw handfuls of walnuts, and then chased them with pretended ferocity. If he overtook one of them he gave them a slight bang with the bells. The children all the time imitated the bleating of a goat. On May 1, 1891, Sharu was more than usually inspired. He came towards my house early in the morning, his face whitened with flour plastered on with ghee. He was rushing about in the maddest way, clashing the bells and brandishing his dancing-axe. The muscular exertion he underwent was remarkable. He threw himself about like an untiring acrobat, while his voice was prodigious. He was followed by the high priest, the Kaneash of the year, a small ordinary crowd and groups of little boys. The great men spoke soothingly to the "possessed" Sharu and recited at intervals religious responses to the glory of Gísh. My dogs rushed at Sharu with open mouth, and loud outcry. I hurried to the rescue with whip and

whistle, for dogs are impure in Káfiristán, but Utah and the others had driven them off before Sharu hurled his bells at them, missing them intentionally I am sure. This wild impostor, as he undoubtedly was, was an excellent fellow at bottom, and a great friend of mine. He would never do anything, even in his most "inspired" moments, which he thought would trouble me. A few minutes later he came to see me, his face washed and his manner placid, but before he recovered his ordinary sanity he ordered a man named Nílira to sacrifice a bull to Gísh. The mandate was at once joyfully obeyed, as had been two similar orders on the preceding day. During this time of the year the door of Gísh's temple remained open; Sharu simply took away the door, ultimately replacing it on July 9. In the month of September for ten days drums are beaten morning noon and night in honour of Gísh. Every small raiding party which has been successful in that it has killed someone, after some preliminary formalities is taken to the gromma, where the heroes with their female relatives dance solemnly to Gísh. At all the spring and other religious dances, the moment the drums begin to beat a particular measure, the pipers cease and the spectators know that a Gísh dance is about to be performed. Usually the utmost enthusiasm prevails, the lookers on stimulating the dancers with shrill cat-callings. Every dancer braces himself for a supreme effort. The whistlings cease as the performers begin to shuffle with intense solemnity, while the spectators follow with excited glances every movement of the dance. In Presungul Gísh seems to be much less admired than among the Siah-Posh tribes. Only male animals are offered to Gísh, such as bulls and goats. Certain smooth holes in rocks are often pointed out as Gísh's cannon.

Bagisht is a popular deity. He presides over rivers, lakes, and fountains, and helps good men in various ways in their struggle for wealth and power. It is more particularly because Káfirs believe that by sacrificing to Bagisht they will become rich that they are assiduous in his worship. To the miraculous birth of this god reference has been made in another place. Like all the other godlings he is believed to have lived in this world as a man, and to have become deified after his death. I am not aware of any temple erected to Bagisht. I cannot remember one. There are three celebrated places where he is particularly worshipped. One is at the mouth of the Skorigul, where a simple stone marks a sacred spot visited by large numbers of people who sacrifice sheep there. Another is in Presungul. The third is at Wagúk, which from the description of the journey to it related to me, appears to be in Badakhshán or somewhere west of Minján. A Káfir I know, went there, taking a big male goat as an offering. He plumes himself on having made the journey. Another place sacred to Bagisht is about half a mile of the river channel in the Kunar Valley, just above the village Nári. At Kámdesh there is a stone at the foot of the hill by the village of Urmir where sheep are sacrificed, but the only other place, I believe, is above the village, near Imra's little temple, where the offerings are made to the sacred spot at the mouth of the Skorigul. Just at the rise to the bridge which spans the Bashgul river at the village of Bagalgrom there is a blood-smothered stone where sacrifices are also made to Bagisht. The usual offerings to this deity are sheep, although goats also are sometimes given.

The god Arom I never heard of until I had been in Káfiristán several months. Nevertheless, he is the tutelary deity of the Kám. His shrine, a simple wooden frame-work containing a large fragment of stone, is made of short beams square-hewn, and placed over each other in pairs alternately. In shape the little shrine resembles one of the ordinary effigy pedestals, but is a little larger, and wood only is used in its construction. When a war is brought to a successful close and terms of peace are agreed upon, the animals are taken to Arom's shrine and there sacrificed. The number of animals demanded from the opposing tribe depends entirely on the strength it retains. If very weak many bulls would have to be given, while if peace were made on equal terms a bull would be exchanged between the late belligerents. The High Priest, knowing that I was interested in the Káfir gods, once came to inform me that Arom had seven brothers. There, unhappily, his knowledge ended. He did not know the names of any of the seven, or anything else about them. When the time comes for the Kaneash to cast aside their distinctive garments, a portion of the ceremony which has to be gone through before they can assume their ordinary clothes is for each of them to sacrifice a male goat to Arom. This is before they shave their heads and beards.

Of the gods Sanru, Saranji or Sauranju, Satarám or Sudaram, Inthr, Duzhi, Nong, Shomde, and Paráde, I know little or nothing. Sanru, I was told, was the father of Saranji, although other informants had assured me that all the inferior gods, except Bagisht, were created directly by Imra. Saranji is the tutelary deity of the village

of Pontzgrom. He has a little shrine on the top of the village tower, and a second near the mouth of the Pontzgul. He is also worshipped in the Bashgul Valley. Satarám is the weather god. He regulates the rainfall. Inthr I only heard of because he fought with Imra, as already related, and had to retreat from Badáwan to the Tsarogul (Péch). Duzhi has a shrine near Urmir village. It consists of a stone, and is close by Bagisht. Nong and Shomde are deities peculiar to the Presungul. The latter is the tutelary deity of the village of Diogrom. Paráde I never could learn anything of. I discovered his existence by learning on one occasion that he had expressed a desire to be sacrificed to by means of the swinging bow. But all my questions concerning him were of no avail. No one knew anything about him except that "he was created by Imra."

Dizane.

Dizane is a popular goddess, and is worshipped wherever I have been in Káfiristán. The Giché, or new year festival, is entirely in her honour, and she also has special observances during the Dizanedu holidays. Everybody who has a son born to him in the preceding year offers a goat to Dizane at Giché. Dizane takes care of the wheat crop, and to propitiate her, or to increase the produce of wheat fields, simple offerings are made, unaccompanied by the slaughter of an animal. A great irrigation channel is shown the traveller in Presungul, which it is affirmed that Dizane herself constructed. There is also a good bridge in the same district called by her name. When the men of a tribe are away raiding, and the women collect in the villages to dance day and night to propitiate their gods, and sing their praises, Dizane is one of the chief deities they supplicate for help. To her their hymn goes something like this: "Send my man home safe and unwounded;" while to Gísh, for instance, they sing: "Send us many goats, and cows, and other plunder." The legend which ascribes Bagisht to Dizane as her son has already been referred to, as well as the mythological story which makes Dizane the trunk of the fabulous tree whose roots were the goddess Nirmali, while the branches were seven families of brothers, each seven in number. I have been assured by some Káfirs that Dizane was the daughter of Satarám. She may have been originally the goddess of fruitfulness. She usually shares a shrine with other deities, but at Kámdesh she has the prettiest little temple I have seen in Káfiristán all to herself. There at the Munzilo festival those Kaneash who live in the upper village have to sleep.

Nirmali.

Nirmali is the Káfir Lucina. She takes care of women and children, and protects lying-in women. The women's retreats, the pshars, are under her especial protection.

Krumai.

This goddess I thought was a god for several months, in fact until I saw her effigy in one of the dancing houses in Presungul, when no doubt could remain concerning her sex. She is worshipped everywhere, I believe, but I have never been present at any sacrifice in her honour. She lives, according to some authorities, on Tirich Mir. But I know her chiefly by a comical dance performed in her name, which always winds up the performances at the regular ceremonies, when each important deity is danced to in turn.

Fairies.

We now come to the fairies. These aerial spirits are everywhere in Káfiristán. They have to be propitiated in order that the millet crops may be good. A fire is lit in the centre of the growing crop, juniper-cedar, ghee, and bread are placed upon it, and a certain ritual intoned. No animal is sacrificed. At the time that the ceremony to the fairies is being prepared, certain thick bread cakes have to be offered to Yush the devil. So also when Dizane is being invoked to protect or improve the wheat, Yush has to be simultaneously propitiated. There is a certain powerful fairy, called the Charimo Vetr, who lives high up the Kutaringul, a ravine which empties its waters into the Bashgul River between Mirkani and Arundo. This vetr (fairy) continually receives offerings of goats and kids from the Kám tribe, and in return has given that people great help against their enemies. My tent, owing to the great heat in Kámdesh, was pitched for some time under a magnificent deodar tree above the village. In the branches of this beautiful cedar a fairy dwelt, and in addition there was an Imra stone concealed somewhere in the foliage. For the twofold reasons, cheeses for sacrifices and other offerings could be left there unguarded by mortals, for no one would dare to steal the property placed in this manner under supernatural protection. The fairies are often mischievous, and at sacrifices often cause the inspired priest much anxiety. He is constantly impelled to rush forward to save the basket of flour from being carried off by them. They also take a particular delight in annoying him. Sometimes he is pushed violently about, and his raiment torn to ribbons by malicious fairies. I have often watched these men when they were on the look-out for vetrs, and have admired their dramatic start of surprise and fear when the fairy manifested

its presence, and the wonderful physical energy which certain of them put into their performances. Káfiristán is indeed a fairyland. A fairy has appeared to Sharu in my dwelling room, and I have been cautioned more than once about the necessary precautions to be taken to prevent subsequent disaster to myself. The precautions usually consisted in my being advised to eat some particularly delicate food, and to keep a vigil. I think on the whole, however, that the Káfir fairies, if properly propitiated, are more benevolent than malicious. On the night preceding the Dizanedu festival there is an annual dance in honour of the fairies.

The demons and their chief, Yush, are rather dubious spirits. Yush himself is of red colour, "like English soldiers," and lives in rocks. He loves to seize travellers at night and destroy them, but if a man is wearing his dagger he is never molested. In most of the stories in which Yush is introduced, he is made to appear as a foil to Imra. So with the other devils. The end of such narratives generally is that the devils were cut to pieces. In Presungul I passed several ruins which looked like deserted villages, the inhabitants of which had been content with very small houses. I was told that those places were the remains of Yush villages, formerly built and inhabited by devils. On a block of stone in Shtevgom village, there is what is said to be the impression of Yush's hand. It is of colossal size, and has five fingers, besides the thumb. Towers and tunnels are also pointed out as having been constructed by Yush. In some way the devils are often connected in narratives with iron or iron structures. Iron is found in certain countries because Imra cast devils into them. Iron bridges are made out of devil's bodies, and so forth. By the side of a track leading to the upper part of Kámdesh there is a small rough altar, always covered with the ashes of a recent fire. They are the remains of sacrifices made to Yush to propitiate him and induce him not to make mischief. When offerings are made to Dizane or to the fairies, so that the fields may yield good crops of wheat and millet, Yush is always given a particular kind of thick bread-cake at the same time. Yush seems to be always mischievous, never benevolent. His machinations must be guarded against or he must be propitiated by sacrifices. I believe, however, that he is never danced to.

Yush and the demons.

There are distinct traces of ancestor worship, although it is strenuously denied by the people. The effigies erected to the memory of the dead are sometimes sacrificed to and their pedestals sprinkled with blood by descendants or near relatives suffering from sickness. Long fragments of stone are set on end in many places. These, no doubt, are partly intended as cenotaphs, but a goat is always killed when they are erected. The Marnma festival is in honour of the illustrious dead. The two last days of the Duban are also devoted to dancing, feasting, and singing for dead and gone heroes. In Presungul there are no effigies erected to deceased relations as is so popular a custom with the Siah-Posh Káfirs, and I believe the same thing may be said of the Waiguli. In Presungul I myself noticed nothing in the nature of ancestor worship.

Ancestor worship.

Concerning the existence of fire worship in Káfiristán, the evidence is not so convincing. Indeed, the only fact I know in support of it is that at all the Agars a sacred fire to Imra is lit by the Uir Jast, and must on no account be omitted, even when, owing to sickness or other tribal calamity, dancing is not indulged in.

Fire worship.

The functionaries of religion are the Utah, or high priest, the Debilála, who chants the praises of the gods, and the Pshur, the individual who is supposed to become temporarily inspired during religious ceremonies, and at other times as well.

Religious functionaries.

The High Priest, the Utah, is a very important personage. The Kám priest is the seventh of his line in direct descent. He is also the head of the Utahdári clan, one of the most important in the tribe, and belongs to a wealthy family. There is another Utah for the village of Pittigul, but he is not the tribal priest, and is of small importance. The Katirs of the Bashgul Valley have as their Utah Kán Márá, of Bragamatál, who is far above everyone else of his tribe in wealth and importance. All the Utahs are greatly respected. In Presungul there is one to each village and some of the elders among them are considered very holy men indeed. They are all of them rich men. In the Bashgul Valley the priest takes two shares of every animal sacrificed, and has other perquisites as well. On the march and elsewhere he takes precedence of every one. Even before he is a Jast he is allowed the privilege of seating himself on a stool outside a dwelling, which no one else under the rank of Mír may do. Certain places are considered impure for him. He may not traverse certain paths which go near to the receptacles for the dead, nor may he visit the cemeteries. He may not go into the actual room where a death has occurred, until after an effigy has been erected

The High Priest.

to the deceased. Slaves may cross his threshold, but must not approach the hearth. The high priest is present at all the principal religious ceremonies, and, whenever possible, officiates at the sacrifices at the different shrines.

The
Debilála.

The Debilála is also a man held in high respect, particularly amongst the Kám tribe. He recites the praises of the gods in whose honour a sacrifice is being made, and at the great religious dances in the spring has a special place assigned to him in the centre of the performers and by the side of the priest, where he sings and dances. He also is debarred from using certain pathways supposed to be impure. The Kám Debilála, Arakon, was in the habit of closing one ear with a finger while singing. As the sound of his voice was in that way intensified to his own hearing, he imagined that its volume was actually increased.

The
Pshur.

The Pshur is the individual who is supposed to be the subject of temporary inspiration. He has already been referred to more than once. At times he behaves with the utmost violence, but there seems to be no rule on this point. The Kám Pshur's antics were extraordinary. He was a very muscular man, furnished by nature with a magnificent voice. Occasionally he used to rush about and shout like a maniac. One of the Katir Pshurs, a Kti Káfir, was a wonderful athlete, and when "possessed" performed remarkable feats of activity and strength; but another Katir Pshur adopted other methods. He used to stare fixedly with his light blue eyes on some object invisible to all but himself, while his right arm and leg shook violently. The Presungul Pshurs were in the habit of falling on one knee and invoking the invisible object with a trembling tongue. On the whole, the Bashgul Pshurs are despised by their fellows. The latter believe they are sometimes really inspired, but that generally they are merely liars, as the Káfirs put it in their direct way of speaking. The Presungul Pshurs are held in much higher esteem by the tribe.

I think the majority of the Pshurs believe in themselves to a certain doubtful extent. I imagine the Kám Pshur knew himself to be an imposter, but believed in other Pshurs, and expected some day or other to be really inspired himself. One of these individuals was really a madman, while others had practised their vocation for so long a time that they were not quite sane. I gave the Kám Pshur some brandy on one occasion; he almost immediately saw a vetr (fairy). He became greatly agitated, turned very pale, and it was some time before the High Priest, by direct appeals to Imra, could restore his subordinate to peace and rationality. I once gave another Pshur some opium pills for a cough. The result of the opium on the man was that he was greatly possessed all day, jumped and shouted, and played all manner of antics. We were on the march at the time. The Pshur was known as a terrible homicide, and was certainly half a madman. All the Káfirs we met gave us a wide berth, looking at my companion with dislike and mistrust. The Kám Pshur was turned out of Kámdesh, and sent back to his own tribe, the Máduvál Káfirs, when two young Kám Káfirs were killed while on a raiding expedition. I suppose he had given a wrong prediction, or ought to have foretold this calamity, for all the village, and particularly the fathers of the slain, were extremely angry. I afterwards discovered that the Kám, having no inspired person in their own tribe, had imported their Pshur from Máduvál; otherwise I do not see how they could have got rid of him. The Bragamatal Pshur, while I was in Káfiristán, declared that Gish demanded more sacrifices, and had given a general order to the Bashgul Káfirs "to attack." This resulted in a raid on the Amzhi Valley of the Wai people, and originated a bloody war, which, no doubt, still continues.

Temporary
priests.

Besides these regular functionaries of religion there are other individuals who temporarily act as priests. They are the Kaneash, who are on the point of completing the ceremonies for the rank of Jast. They are considered pure, and at some sacrifices at any rate perform the duties of the Utah or high priest.

Conversation
with the
gods.

Certain other individuals also have certain particular functions to perform. For instance, if it is desired to find out which particular god is desirous of being sacrificed to, a particular man is called upon to supply the desired information. Among the Kám this man was one of the Jast named Widing Chandlu. The following is a full account of the ceremony I witnessed on November 28, 1890.

There had been a great deal of bad weather, and a public-spirited individual announced his intention of sacrificing a goat in the hope of getting it improved. We all assembled in the living room of his house. The place was crowded, and among those present was Widing Chandlu. After some conversation he got up and fetched a bow from his own house. Arakon, the Debilála, strung the bow and then handed it back to Chandlu, who had in the interval bound his head round with a piece of white cloth. The proceedings were opened by the High Priest, who rose from his seat and

went to the door, where he stood facing us. Immediately to his right, close to the blazing fire, bowls of ghee, wine, and water, and a pile of juniper-cedar branches had been placed ready for use. Having washed his hands very carefully several times with water poured over them by an acolyte, Utah threw a few drops of water up at the smoke hole, sprinkling also the fire and the ground on each side of him as he repeated the word "such" three times. He next set fire to a small branch of cedar, extinguished it in the water vessel, and then sprinkled a few drops of water about with it. It was then immersed once more in the water, and the bowl in which it was, was placed at Widing Chandlu's right hand. Utah now took some more cedar, which he ignited and waved about while he repeated the word "such." He finished by making the peculiar sound "o-o-o-u-r-r," swinging both hands forward at the same time, at which signal all the congregation cried "i-i-i-yamach" with one voice. More cedar branches were then added to the fire, which crackled and blazed merrily, while Utah kept invoking the gods in words I could not understand, and Arakon, the Debilála, who was seated at my side, recited a sort of refrain, always coming in at the proper moment with the "i-i-i-yamach" chorussed by the people. These particular acts accomplished, Widing began his own special duty. From the water vessel on his right he sprinkled the bow three times, repeating each time the word "such." He then, doubling his left fist, enclosed it in his right palm, the bow-string resting below his crossed thumbs. With elbows on thighs, and wrists on knees, he attentively watched the bow, while with a rapid utterance he named the Káfir gods one after the other. Before very long the bow began to swing evenly backwards and forwards. The motion could only have been communicated to the bow by a slight backwards and forwards movement of the hands at the wrists. I closed one eye, and by the aid of a mark on an adjacent pillar distinctly saw the movement of the hands I have described, and I almost expected Widing Chandlu to look at me and close one eye also. He did nothing of the kind, but went on with his imposture in the most solemn way. The name on Widing Chandlu's lips at the moment the bow began to sway was held to be the name of the god who was attentive to the proceedings. Chandlu stopped the swaying of the bow by dancing it up and down by the string, while he made a sound with his lips as if he were talking to a canary. These proceedings he repeated several times until all the information desired had been communicated by the gods. It was to the following effect:—First, Moni was attentive, but on being asked if he would like a goat to be sacrificed in his name, made no response, so it was held that he had declined the honour. Then Satarám behaved in a precisely similar way. Finally, Paráde accepted the proffered goat, and after a lavish banquet we all left.

There are two wise women in the village of Purstám who can foretell the result of a raid. They stand opposite to one another, each balancing two arrows in the palms of their hands. They then approach one another and allow the free ends of the arrows to touch, whereupon in a supernatural way all the arrows shuffle together, and it is by noticing which arrow remains on top that they know whether the raiding party will be successful or the reverse. I was assured that if the omen was against the tribe messengers would be sent to bring the warriors back if they had already started, or to stop them if they had not already gone.

Divination
by arrows.

As mentioned before, all important religious ceremonies are presided over by the High Priest who almost invariably officiates at the sacrifices at the different shrines in his village. Away from the headquarters of the tribe there is usually some individual specially appointed to do the work of the Utah, but no animal is ever killed for food in Káfiristán except in the orthodox manner. On such occasions anyone may perform the ceremony, although it is usual to invite the most important man present to do so. On the march, and on occasions when all the proper adjuncts of the ceremony cannot be obtained, the proceedings are shorn of much of their usual detail, but even then a certain ritual has to be gone through, and the animal to be killed, if it is a sheep or a goat, must shake itself to show it has been accepted by the god to whom it is being offered. To make it do so water is poured into its ear, and all down its spine by the priest or his substitute. It is not sufficient for the animal to merely shake its head to get the water out of its ears; it must shake the whole body as a wet dog shakes itself. When it does this a kissing sound is made by all present and the animal is forthwith slaughtered. Sometimes there is a considerable delay in this part of the ceremony, when the onlookers appear to be reasoning with the animal on its obstinacy, while the god is at the same time invoked to accept the offering. At all offerings at shrines juniper-cedar branches must be used. They may be supplemented by ordinary cedar, but the sacred juniper must be employed also. At Kámdesh it is somewhat difficult to obtain, and has to be brought from a considerable distance. It is stored up in houses

Sacrifices.

for winter use with as much care as if it were necessary food. In the upper part of the Bashgul Valley, where it is plentiful, it is festooned on shrines and fastened round the brows of effigies, but this is rarely done in Kámdesh owing to the scarcity of the tree.

Goats are sacrificed in considerable numbers, 10 to 15 at a time, on particular occasions, as for instance when the Kaneash are giving their public banquets. At such times it does not seem necessary for the animals to shake themselves as a sign they have been accepted by the gods. They are sprinkled with water during the ceremony and are forthwith killed without any other observances; but single animals certainly, when away from the chief shrines, cannot lawfully be killed until they unmistakeably shake themselves.

When a single animal is killed in a room, on a house-top, or when travelling, a full ritual is used if it is possible to do so. The priest always has a fragment of cotton cloth bound round his temples when out of his own house, and any one acting as his deputy for the time being also likes to bind his head in a similar way. Boots are removed and hands washed. The fire is kindled, and ghee, and cedar branches placed upon it. Water is sprinkled about on the shrine, the fire, the animal, and, in-doors, is thrown up at the smoke hole, while the word "such" is repeated. Ignited juniper-cedar branches are waved about to the same accompaniment, then ghee, flour, and bread, are placed on the fire. The god to be sacrificed to is then invoked, and if the Debilála is present his praises are recited. The animal after it has shaken itself as already described is seized by the feet and thrown over a stool, across a man's knee, or on to the ground. A dagger or knife is then thrust through the neck the point of the weapon being entered at the angle of the jaw on one side and brought out at the other, the knife is made to cut towards the spine, severing the arteries in that position and is then turned round and made to cut out through the gullet, windpipe, and skin. Some of the blood is caught in a long handled cup or in the palm of the half-closed hand and sprinkled on the fire while regular responses to the priest's invocation are made by the by-standers. The animal's head is then forcibly dislocated and separated from the body by a few touches of the knife. It is then placed at the edge of the fire for a few seconds, just long enough to singe the muzzle, and is then withdrawn. A few more recitations are made by the priest and responded to by the people and the ceremony is finished. The exact moment when the Pshur, if present, becomes temporarily inspired is uncertain, while the violence of his antics depends entirely on the man himself and on the way he is irritated or worked upon by the spirits.

Goats and kids are frequently sacrificed on the house-tops, but sheep are not considered worthy of this honour. In sacrificing a bull or a cow precisely the same formalities are gone through as have been described, except that the head is not cut off and put in the fire. The animal is killed by a stroke behind the horns with a small axe. Immediately after a sacrifice the animals are cut up. Any one can cut up a sheep or a goat, but cattle are skinned and divided by slaves. When many goats are sacrificed at one time the bystanders draw lots who shall skin each particular animal in the following way. Some one collects their walking clubs into a bundle and then rapidly draws out the sticks and throws one or two, as the case may be, on the carcase of each animal. Each man follows his stick and sets to work on the carcase on which it was thrown. This prevents all dispute about the distribution of the work to be done. Offerings made without the sacrifice of any animal are conducted in a precisely similar manner in all the other details.

The following is a description of the offering of 15 goats at Gísh's shrine at Kámdesh. The audience was small on this particular occasion, numbering about 30, who arranged themselves in an irregular semi-circle in front of the shrine with Utah in front and the Debilála and the Pshur immediately behind him. The congregation behaved like average religious audiences in England, that is to say, without any special enthusiasm but with a certain amount of formal decorum, while the younger people were not without a suspicion of light-heartedness. Fifteen handsome male goats were slowly driven up to the shrine by two little boys, who, considering that their part of the work was then over, ran away and shirked the religious function as boys will, all the world over. Utah cast a critical glance round to see that all preparations had been properly made. There was a small fire lit and covered with cedar branches which emitted a dense white smoke. A wooden vessel containing millet flour, a second containing ghee, a third filled with wine, and a fourth with water, were placed ready for use, while a prettily carved wooden utensil, shaped something like a teapot, and furnished

with a long dummy wooden spout, held the ghee which was to be thrown upon the shrine. From the other ghee vessel Utah took out several handfuls to put on the cedar branches and brighten the fire. He then in the manner of a man accustomed to perform an important part in public, washed his hands carefully with water poured over them by an attendant. This operation being completed he stood barefooted before the holy place. He first sprinkled the goat with a few drops of water, repeating the word "such" three times, and taking a small quantity of the contents of each vessel, threw it on the small closed door of the shrine, all the time repeating a certain invocation and at the proper times chorussing with the bystanders the phrase "i-i-i-yamach." The goats were then rapidly seized one by one by young men helping at the ceremony, thrown across a stool, and their throats cut. As the blood streamed forth it was caught in flat wooden basins, while another assistant secured a portion of it in a long-handled wooden cup, which he carried to Utah, who cast it upon the shrine, after throwing a small quantity in the fire. Each time he did this he swung both hands forward together and muttered "o-o-o-u-r-r," at which signal the audience repeated "i-i-i-yamach," as before. All the time Arakon, the Debilála, chanted a refrain with his hand placed in front of his left ear as though he were suffering from toothache, while his white consumptive face and cadenced voice gave suggestions of solemnity to the barbarous performance. When the blood ceased flowing into the wooden bowls, the goat's head was forcibly twisted round and detached from the spine by a few touches of the knife, and carefully carried to Utah, who placed it just inside the edge of the fire, and after it was slightly singed withdrew it to be set aside for food. While all this was going on, Sharu, the Pshur, who had been quietly looking on, suddenly hurled away the peaked cap (kullah) which he was wearing and bounded forward. He stretched his arms straight above his head, twirling his hands round and shouting furiously. He then dashed water on to the shrine as though in burlesque of Utah's proceedings. The latter spoke what sounded like soothing words to the inspired man, but which must actually have been an invocation to the god, for at certain periods the audience responded with "i-i-i-yamach." Sharu then bent down, and rapidly swung his clenched hands between his knees and over his head several times. This done he quietly resumed his cap, became quite sane again, and smiled blandly at me. The ceremony concluded with another short recital by Utah, with the customary response by the congregation, after which all touched the forehead just above the eyebrows with the tips of their fingers, making at the same time a kissing sound with their lips. This is the orthodox salutation of a Káfir to a shrine. The word "such," I imagine, means "be pure." Once I was fishing in the Bashgul river. The Káfirs shudder at the idea of eating fish, as an English lady would shrink from the idea of eating a rat, but from curiosity and also to guard me, a number of Kám men, headed by the priest, were seated on the rocks above watching the sport. When I hooked a fish and landed it the priest invariably cried out "such, such, such" in a jocular way. I think no Bashgul Káfir objects to burlesquing the sacrifice ritual. I have seen a boy play the part of the priest in a facetious way, and one of my own followers act the Pshur to the amusement of all spectators. Outside Káfiristán the ceremony, if performed at all, is always more or less of a travesty, I think.

The details of the Presun sacrifices and offerings differ from those of the Siah-Posh tribes in certain respects. For instance, there are no responses from the bystanders, although the swaying forward of the hands, which in the Bashgul Valley is the signal for responses from the congregation, is never omitted by the priest. The Utah, alone or in conjunction with the Debilála, performs the entire ceremony. The "such" is replaced by the word "shoo," and in adding the cedar branches, bread, ghee, &c., to the fire, the Utah makes a soft, whining, half mewing noise, and any words he may utter are quite indistinguishable, to my ear, at any rate. The Presun Pshurs never seem to be violent. They fall on one knee by the fire when their turn comes, and go through their performance in an abstracted, half melancholy manner. I know nothing of the behaviour of the Wai people at sacrifices. When a goat has been slaughtered for them they like to dabble some of the blood on their foreheads.

Miracles are occasionally performed. Utah has sometimes told me of such things. Miracles. but I have never seen any myself. The usual miracle related was of a man under supernatural protection standing for some minutes in the centre of a large fire without being in any way injured.

Káfirs sometimes try to cheat a god. For instance, they will wait a few hours after finding out which deity must be sacrificed to for a change in the weather, in the hope Cheating the gods. that the sky may clear, and the wind stop without an offering being necessary. Once

a friend of mine, named Chárá, whose little son was apparently dying from small-pox, after he had sacrificed a cow to Imra on the boy's behalf, discovered from the swinging bow that Bagisht wanted an offering of three fine goats. He thereupon bargained with the god that he should have the goats as soon as the boy got well, and not before. The boy recovered, and I hope Bagisht received the goats. I think he did, Chárá being a very honest fellow for a Káfir.

Miscellaneous superstitions.

The Káfirs delight in stories of marvellous or supernatural things. Dán Malik, a fine old man, told me he had seen a Mahomedan doctor perform an operation with a knife on a man in the Kunar Valley, and draw out from the bottom of the incision a large centipede, which was the cause of the patient's illness. Dán Malik himself believed the truth of the story he related. My own stories of London, its great size, the number of people who lived there, the conveyance of water and gas through pipes, the use of coal as fuel, the measurement and carrying capacity of ocean steamships, and so on, were highly appreciated. The Káfirs used to cross-examine me a long time afterwards to find out if I stuck to the details of my wonderful stories. Probably they thought it required a great deal more credulity on their part to swallow my narratives than they exacted from me in trying to make me believe their fables. They believe in love philtres and love charms, and long to possess them. They tell of a wonderful grass which grows near the hamlet of Agarú, in the Nichingul, where, if you take a gun and fire at the grass (it is not stated what prompted the first discoverer to make such a curious experiment) the broken blades, before they can fall to the ground, are seized and carried off by pigeons, large flocks of which rise at the report of the gun, and fly away. Once a man managed to secure a blade of this grass and started for his home. More than ten score women, such was the potency of the strange herb, followed him with love-sick moans. As he neared his home his mother came forth and cried out, "O, my son, what is it you have about you which distracts me so much? Whatever it is, cast it away." With filial promptitude the man complied with his mother's request. The fragment of grass fell in the fork of a large tree which was at once split asunder. Much was related to me about certain magical pools of water. There were three in particular, one near the village of Pittigul, another in the Mumán country, the third on the road to Waigul. If anyone approach these pools too closely the water becomes visibly troubled, while if an arrow were dipped in urine and fired at its surface, a mighty torrent rushes forth inundating all the surrounding country. In former times this was frequently done, but has never been repeated of late years. My friends professed an anxiety to show me by practical demonstration that they spoke truthfully, but they never carried out their expressed wish to do so. At Pittigul they declared it could not be done, because if it were the furious water would sweep away all the houses and fields.

THE CALENDAR.

The Bashgul Káfir festivals.

The Káfir year, at least in the Bashgul valley, is divided into 360 days, and marked by special festivals. These festivals are 12 in number, and start with Giché, the first day of the new year. The following list gives all these particular days, and the dates on which they occurred in 1891. The festivals marked with a dagger (†) are those at which I was present with the Kám tribe:—

(1.)	†Giché	-	-	-	-	January 16th.
(2.)	Veron	-	-	-	-	February 3rd.
(3.)	†Taska and the throwing of the Shíl	-	-	-	-	February 18th.
(4.)	Marnma	-	-	-	-	March 8th.
(5.)	†Duban	-	-	-	-	March 19th.
(6.)	†Azhindra	-	-	-	-	April 4th.
(7.)	†Diran	-	-	-	-	May 9th.
(8.)	Gerdulow	-	-	-	-	June 5th.
(9.)	†Patilo	-	-	-	-	June 30th.
(10.)	†Dizanedu	-	-	-	-	July 9th.
(11.)	Munzilo	-	-	-	-	August 17th.
(12.)	†Nilu	-	-	-	-	September 17th.

After Nilu there is a long interval—120 days, it is said—until the next Giché or New Year's Day.

For the purposes of the Calendar only three seasons are enumerated, namely, The seasons. Wazdar (Summer), Sharwar (Autumn), and Zowar (Winter), each of which is computed at 120 days. There is a word in the Kám language, "Wazat," which means spring time, but it is not referred to in counting up the year.

The holidays of the other tribes in the Bashgul Valley are not coincident with those held at Kámdesh, although, as a rule, there was only a difference of a few days in point of time. I do not know why identical festivals were not held on the same date in all the villages. Presumably it had nothing to do with the influence of varying altitudes in the sowing and reaping of crops, nor to any desire on the part of the different tribes to show their complete independence of their neighbours in every particular, while it may have been the result of an amiable wish to receive or pay visits from or to distant villages on the recurrence of the annual festivals, which would be impossible if the feast days clashed. Various dates of festivals.

In addition to the holidays enumerated in the above list, there is a series of rest days or Sabbaths, which occur every Saturday during the time field work is in progress. These rest days are called Agars. In 1891 the first Agar was on April 3, the last on September 17. They usually began at Kámdesh on a Wednesday night, when a fire was lit at the dancing place in honour of Imra, and the people danced and sang to the music of drums and pipes. The duty of lighting the fire for the Agar devolves on the Uir Jast, and was never neglected, even when the village was in mourning for the death of a warrior, or was depressed by reason of epidemic sickness or similar calamities. I failed to discover anything concerning the origin of these Agars. Their observance may have become a national custom the origin of which has been lost. As the Kám people were averse from starting on a journey on the Agar days, and as all the women left their field work altogether on those occasions, it is possible that the Agar was originally considered an unlucky day. This, however, is mere conjecture; my imperfect knowledge of the Káfir tongue and the inefficiency of my interpreters may have combined to prevent my arriving at the truth, quite as much as the dislike of the people to being cross-examined and their impatience at being questioned on points they assumed that everybody understood or ought to understand. As far as the women were concerned it was only field work which was stopped, for I have constantly seen them carrying stones or earth for building operations and engaged in other coolie labour. The Agar.

In the upper part of the Bashgul Valley the Agar usually fell on a Saturday. Although, as I have mentioned, the Kámdesh Agar usually began on a Wednesday evening, this was by no means invariably the case, the alteration of the day being usually dependent, I was informed, on some festival falling on the usual Agar and so necessitating the change.

Káfir festivals frequently begin in the evening, and thus a so-called one-day festival often lasts for two nights and one day. I was never able to count up the Káfir calendar satisfactorily even with the help of the most intelligent of my Kámdesh friends, and I failed entirely to discover how the days were fitted in so as always to make the Giché, the new year, fall on the same date. The impression left on my mind was that the Káfirs did not trouble themselves about such niceties, yet when away from their villages the men with me always knew accurately the number of days intervening before the next festival. The following are the principal festivals:— Festivals beginning in the evening.

(1.) Giché, New Year's Day. The surrounding Mahomedans call this the Káfir Eed. In 1891, the Giché ceremonies were shorn of their customary splendour on account of the severity of the weather and the unusual snowfall. All men who had had sons born to them during the year took a goat each, and in the course of the day sacrificed it at the shrine of the goddess Dizane. In the evening and throughout the night there were feasting and rejoicings in most houses at Kámdesh. At the first glimpse of dawn on the morning of the 17th, in spite of a heavy snow storm, men and women issued from every house carrying torches of pine wood, and marched up the hill crying "such" "such," and deposited their brands in a heap in front of Dizane's shrine. The blaze was increased by ghee being thrown on the fire. The Debilála chanted the praises of the goddess, the people joining in the refrain at regular intervals. They all returned to their homes. I saw very little of the ceremony, for on account of the heavy fall of snow no one came to show me the road. I awoke and hastened up the hill at the first cry of "such" "such" from shrill female throats, but being almost immediately caught in a snow drift I had to turn all my attention to getting out again. In the far distance the huge bonfire could be faintly seen through the falling snow. The sight was a pretty one even for me in my miserable plight, the Giché.

outline of the intermittent blaze being broken by the trees which it fitfully illuminated.

Veron. (2.) Veron. This festival is of inferior importance, and such Káfirs as happened to be absent from their villages made no attempt to hurry back for it, as is their usual custom when a feast day approaches. On this day the thirteen Ur or Urir entertain the whole of the village, probably in consideration of the fines they have collected in virtue of their office.

Taska. (3.) The Taska day is looked forward to with considerable interest by all Káfirs. In 1891 the festivities began in the evening, when a goat was sacrificed at almost every house in Kámdesh. A peculiar feature of this festival is that during its continuance little boys are not only permitted but are encouraged to use filthy abuse towards grown-up men. During the evening of the 18th the boys from the upper village collected near my house to shout out vile remarks concerning the men of the East village, whence the same kind of language was used in response. This continued all night, and I was awakened early on the morning of the 19th by the shouted obscenities of the boys, now reinforced by grown-up youths, who went round from house to house, bringing horrible accusations against the owners. This was supposed to be very amusing, especially when the chief of the head men was assailed. I was altogether exempted from these unpleasant attentions. During the day there were one or two dances in different places, but there had been recently so terrible a mortality amongst the young children from small-pox that the people were too depressed to indulge in the snow-ball fights which in happier years are carried out on this anniversary. On the 20th the Taska festivities wound up at the dancing house with a subdued revel called the Prachi Nát (Prachi dance), said to be indulged in by boys of the lower orders exclusively. My friends asked me not to go to that performance, and I complied with their request; but previous to this, in the afternoon, there was a great dance in the gromma, at which the Kaneash were present in their robes and all the Jast who participated in the revels were most gorgeously attired. All the functionaries of religion were also present. Gísh seemed to be the most honoured of the gods on this occasion. The proceedings began with dances in his honour, and ended up in a similar way after Dizane and Imra had also received three rounds each.

The throwing of the shíl.

On February 21, 1891, the first day after Taska, the annual competition in throwing an iron ball called the shíl took place according to custom. The occasion is always observed as a general holiday. The shíl is about the size of a lawn tennis ball, and is facettted all over in an irregular manner. It is one of two precisely similar balls said to have been made by Imra when he created the world, and only one of which is used for the throwing competition, the other being buried under a stone in the middle of a spring of water near the top of the village hill. I was informed that in very ancient times the two shíls were discovered rolling over and over in a running stream, and were then taken out and reverently preserved by certain Kám Káfirs, who appear to have known by direct inspiration what the iron balls were and what they were for. On the occasion of which I speak the shíl was produced by the holder, Chandlu, the Debilála's brother. For a whole year it had reposed out of sight in a bed of wheat. When it was brought again into the light a goat was sacrificed, and the flesh partaken of by such of the Jast as chose to be present. The throwing took place at a position near the upper village, where a contiguous line of house-tops afforded a more or less level space, and in the presence of a large number of spectators. The weather was unpleasant, but I was informed that the competition would certainly be carried out, no matter how bad it might become. All the ambitious and stalwart youths of the tribe, and many visitors as well, took their stand one by one behind a particular mark, whence, starting at a furious pace, each hurled the iron ball as far as his strength permitted, all the spectators shouting out "onsht, onsht!" (up with it, up with it). This was intended to incite the competitors to the utmost effort, and certainly added to the general excitement. All were urged to join in the sport, myself among the rest, but I well knew that throwing such a weight would almost break my arm, so I prudently refrained. After several hours had passed, during which innumerable young men had thrown the shíls as often as they liked, a young tribal hero made his appearance and threw a grand throw amid thunders of applause. One of the orators springing upon a fragment of rock spoke excitedly and fluently in praise of the thrower. The hero himself, a famous warrior, tried to look modest, but only succeeded in looking intensely gratified. Another young man subsequently made a still better cast and remained the victor, but he was not nearly so popular as his more distinguished adversary whose continuous attempts to make a still better throw were greeted with enthusiastic shouts of

"Shámish!" (Well done!) In the end both young men divided the honours, and feasted the whole village, although the actual victor of course retained possession of the shíl for the year. Like Edward Morton after the Wapinshaw, the winner had to entertain the vanquished. He had also to feed the whole of the village as well. A friend of mine named Aza Kán had on several occasions proved himself the best man in the tribe at throwing the shíl, but on this occasion he refused to compete. I asked him the reason of this. He replied he had already been the victor on five different occasions and did not care again to undergo the expense of feasting the village. I explained to some Káfirs that in my country the winner of an athletic competition such as this would probably receive a prize. They disapproved of such a custom, remarking that as Imra had made a particular man's arm strong, therefore that man should give a feast in honour of Imra. Concerning the possibility of an individual of some other tribe winning the competition they told me that in such a case the man would be allowed to give a feast, but he certainly would not be permitted to take the shíl away to his home. I was assured that if a very poor man won, he would have no difficulty in getting some one to supply him with the necessary food for the banquet, which he would pay back if ever he was rich enough to do so.

The shíl-throwing is an ancient custom, and is said to be observed by all the tribes of Káfiristán. It appears to be in praise of Imra, and is called the Shílarigajar.

(4.) The Marnma festival took place at Kámdesh on March 8, while I was away in the Kunar Valley. By all accounts the observance was both curious and interesting. On the evening of the 7th, the women cooked rice, bread, &c., and then, early in the morning, taking a small quantity of the prepared food with ghee and wine, placed the whole in front of the family effigies. The faces of the images were also smeared with ghee. After a short interval the food on the ground was destroyed and flooded away by a gush of water from a goatskin. The women next repaired to the pshar or Nirmali house where they feasted and amused themselves with loud laughter. They then started for their respective homes singing. The men and women chaffed and abused one another obscenely on the road, the former offering the latter neck ornaments or other small articles to be danced for. Later on near each house a small portion of prepared food was placed on the ground in the name of each relative that could be remembered, and was then in its turn swamped away by a gush of water. The food which remains over was then feasted on, and I was assured that joy and contentment reigned in every household, the atmosphere of which no doubt reeked with the appallingly vile remarks which appear to be the Káfir substitute for "chaff."

(5.) The Duban is the great festivity of the year. For it there is an elaborate ritual and a tedious ceremonial. In 1891 it lasted from March 19 till the 29th, both days inclusive. On the first day the Urir for the year and their chief or Jast were elected. The 20th was an off-day. On the 21st the regular dancing at the gromma began, with its concomitants, slow processions round and round inside the building, hymn chanting, and the strange antics of the buffoon priest, the man who is supposed to be temporarily inspired at all religious celebrations. The 23rd, the 24th, and the 28th were the chief days and of them the last-mentioned was the most important. Then the violence of the "low" priest was extraordinary and his physical endurance marvellous. On the 26th the regular dancing to Imra and the inferior deities was poorly attended, and on the 27th it ceased altogether. The 28th and 29th were devoted to feasting, dancing, and chanting, in honour of the illustrious dead.

(6.) The Azhindra fell on April 6th. There was no dancing. The event of the day was a procession down the Kámdesh hill to the shrines—represented by upright stones—of Bagisht and Duzhi, which are situated near the river bank and close to the village of Urmir. For this ceremony, the rule which prohibited any of the Kaneash from leaving the village until the Diran festival is relaxed. After a bull had been sacrificed to Bagisht and a large he-goat to Duzhi, the company engaged in a game of aluts or stone quoits, while the carcasses of the animals were being skinned and cut up into portions for each man to carry away with him. Several games were played simultaneously. For the chief of them Utah and the Debilála chose sides. All those too old or too inefficient to play themselves crowded round to watch and applaud the players, headed respectively by the High Priest and the Precentor. Then came the feasting on a horrible mess compounded of the liver and other inner parts of the sacrificed animals, cheese, cooked fat, and I know not what else. A second ceremony was then gone through before Bagisht's shrine in the way of a recitation by the Debilála, and responses from the congregation. After that the young men of the village drew up in line and raced through a terraced field of wheat to a stone about 120 yards off. This race was quite as much a part of the business of the day as any other of the

ceremonies. Finally, all started together to return to Kámdesh, singing. One man sang a line by himself, then everybody sang the next line, and so on.

Diran.

(7.) The Diran marks the date when the Kaneash are permitted to leave the village and go where they please. There is also a procession up the hill side to Imra's idol temple on the top of the Kámdesh spur. All proceed in regular order, headed by the High Priest, who at intervals sprinkles water with a sprig of juniper-cedar from a wooden bowl. Each time he does this he cries "such, such!" (be pure, be pure), while a singer, not the Debilála, sings a hymn of praise to Imra, all the congregation joining in a regular refrain. Drums and pipes also lend their aid. When Imra's shrine is reached, a cow is sacrificed with the proper formalities, and a large number of wicker baskets heaped up with flour were placed before the shrine, each having on top a bread cake shaped like a rosette. Following this the assembly moves a little to the north and a goat is sacrificed to Bagisht in Katirgul. There is no temple erected of any kind at the place, the theory being that the sacrifice is offered direct through the air to the distant shrine. While the carcasses are being cut up, the people are amused by an archery display by the best shots in the village. Sides are formed and a regular competition is gone through. The sacrifice on this occasion is presented by the Uir Jast.

Gerdulow.

(8.) Of the Gerdulow festival I know nothing except the name and the date. I was away from Kámdesh when it took place, and no trace of anything concerning it can be found in any of my various diaries. It is probably of secondary importance.

Patilo.

(9.) The Patilo was observed in 1891 by dancing. The proceedings began at night, and dancing was kept up with great spirit both at the upper and lower village dancing places. It was to the glory of Imra, and was accompanied by drums and singing. The spectacle was extremely picturesque, the dancing figures being only clearly seen as they emerged from the gloom into a limited space illumined by a large fire, whence they circled back again into darkness.

Dizanedu.

(10.) The Dizanedu occurred on July 9. For two days previously men and boys had been hurrying in from all sides bringing cheeses and ghee. Every pshal or dairy farm contributed. At two o'clock the male inhabitants of Kámdesh went to Dizane's shrine to sacrifice a couple of goats, and make offerings of portions of cheese and bread-cakes. Then the whole company returned to Gísh's temple. An immense pile of fine cheeses was heaped upon the wooden platform close by, and from each one a shallow circular fragment was cut out. These convex pieces were placed on the cedar branches with bread-cakes and ghee during a regular worship of Gísh. This ceremony over, the people collected into groups, scales were produced, and all the cheeses were cut into portions. Each share was weighed separately, the make-weight being neatly skewered on to the big pieces with little bits of stick. While this was being done the goats' flesh, divided into "messes," was being cooked in two large vessels, the green twigs used to bind together the different shares simmering away merrily with the meat. Women brought bread from the different houses, and ultimately stood in a row in the background while their male relations thoroughly enjoyed themselves. There was a regular religious ceremony performed by Utah, and just before this began, Sharu, the mad priest, at the invitation of the oldest of the Mirs replaced the shutter which closed the tiny door, or window, of Gísh's temple. This shutter had remained on the top of the shrine ever since Sharu had removed it early in the year.

There was dancing on the 11th, both at the upper and lower village dancing platforms, to a certain slow measure called the Prem dem nát, while on the 12th the whole of the village collected at the lower dancing place to view the performance called the Stritilli nát. This was one of the best sights I saw in Káfiristán. Being in the open air a very large number of spectators could assemble, and the terrible atmosphere of the gromma had not to be endured. The performers were arrayed in all their finery, and consisted entirely of the Jast supplemented by three woman dancers. On this occasion it is the custom for the upper and lower villages to entertain one another on alternate years. Great cheerfulness prevails and not a little horse-play is indulged in. On this occasion, as so frequently happens at Káfir gatherings, the proceedings which began in sport ended in what promised to be a determined fight between the east village and a mob who attacked it in sport. At one instant matters looked very serious indeed, but happily daggers had been discarded and only sticks and branches of trees were used as weapons. The women behaved with extraordinary courage, dashed among the fighters and dragged away husbands and brothers by main force and disarmed them. Those not engaged in the turmoil, together with many visitors from Lutdeh, at length succeeded in restoring order, though not

before many shrewd blows had been given and received. The affair was not without its humorous aspect also. An important man, such as the priest, or one of the most respected of the Jast, would rush among the combatants and harangue them. Finding his admonitions disregarded and himself hustled, he would seize a club and become as mad as the most furious in the throng. The women were very much in evidence all day. They appear to have the privilege of seizing men and ducking them in the streams on this anniversary. My Baltis had to run hard to escape being treated in this way. As I was tramping up the hill to my tent at the top a young woman and a little girl flung water over me, and many others seemed half inclined to follow the example, but the remainder in horrified accents protested so strongly against the proceedings that I was allowed to pass.

(11.) The Munzilo was held on August 17 in 1891. I was away from Kámdesh at the time. It seemed to me from descriptions at second hand that it was mainly occupied in the final ceremonies for the Kaneash, which are referred to in their proper place. It lasted several days and the deities chiefly honoured were Gísh and Dizane.

(12.) This festival began late on the evening of September 17. On the 18th little boys of from 6 to 12 were the only performers. They collected about four in the afternoon, and were slowly and carefully dressed up by amused relatives in whatever would answer the purpose of adornment. After the little fellows had finished dancing there was a worship of Imra, without the sacrifice of an animal, and in the evening a second fire was lit. On the 19th there was a men's dance with intervals for chants in honour of Gísh, Dizane, and other deities. A dance to the glory of Krumai closed the proceedings. In the morning everybody appeared to be listless, not to say bored with the whole proceedings, and sacrifices were offered to all the gods collectively.

SECTION XII.

MISCELLANEOUS MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

While pregnant a woman still continues her daily avocations, although as her time approaches she is naturally exempt from the heaviest kind of labour. When her time has arrived she goes to a Nirmali house, where her child is born. She remains there 20 days if her baby is a girl, or 21 days if it is a boy. Then, after a ceremonial ablution, she goes home, when she is allowed a further rest of 12 days before she resumes her ordinary work.

The naming of children is peculiar. The instant an infant is born it is given to the mother to suckle, while an old woman runs rapidly over the names of the baby's ancestors or ancestresses, as the case may be, and stops the instant the infant begins to feed. The name on the reciter's lips when that event occurs becomes the name by which the child will thenceforth be known during its life. As a consequence of this custom it not unfrequently happens that several members of a family are compelled to bear the same name. In such cases the children are distinguished from one another in conversation by the prefix senior or junior, as the case may be.

Káfir men and women are known by their own particular name affixed to that of their father; thus, Chandlu Astán means, Astán the son of Chandlu. In the case of very popular names the grandfather's cognomen has frequently to be employed also to distinguish the various individuals; thus, Lutkám Chandlu Merik means, Merik the son of Chandlu, the grandson of Lutkám. Occasionally, though rarely, the mother's name is used along with the father's; so Bachik-Sumri Shaiok means Shaiok the child of Bachik and Sumri. There is no objection in Káfiristán to a child's bearing the same name as its father; indeed, one constantly hears of Merik Merik, Gutkech Gutkech, and similar instances of father and son bearing identical names.

If a Káfir turns Musselman he of course assumes a Mahomedan name also; but his tribe always speak of him by his Káfir name only.

Many Káfirs are known by some adjective description of a physical peculiarity being prefixed to their true appellation. The commonest prefixes of this kind are red, stout or sturdy, lame, one-eyed, thin, and tall.

The following is a list of some of the more common names of Káfirs :—

MALES.	FEMALES.
(1.) Utahding.	(1.) Sumri.
(2.) Shit.	(2.) Azakanni.
(3.) Málkán.	(3.) Kazan.
(4.) Bachik.	(4.) Baza.
(5.) Málding.	(5.) Saggi.
(6.) Bilizhe.	(6.) Kazhirbri.
(7.) Sunra.	(7.) Gumli.
(8.) Palúk.	(8.) Kori.
(9.) Dimu.	(9.) Dimilli.
(10.) Mirján.	(10.) Ilkani.
(11.) Garak.	(11.) Wazbri.
(12.) Mori.	(12.) Mirza.
(13.) Karuk.	(13.) Mirkani.
(14.) Sámar.	(14.) Málkanni.
(15.) Azá.	(15.) Tromgatti.
(16.) Aror.	(16.) Bangu.
(17.) Kuli.	(17.) Arubri.
(18.) Widing.	(18.) Wázi.
(19.) Arakon.	(19.) Chabri.
(20.) Aramallick.	(20.) Marangzi.
(21.) Katamir.	(21.) Muzik.
(22.) Tong.	(22.) Sunik.
(23.) Utamir.	(23.) Gumali.
(24.) Chára.	(24.) Areni.
(25.) Baril.	(25.) Aurulli.
(26.) Malik.	(26.) Boza.
(27.) Basti.	(27.) Konzo.
(28.) Chimiding.	(28.) Tramgudi.
(29.) Samata.	(29.) Bodza.
(30.) Barmuk.	(30.) Maláki.

Babies.

Babies are often suckled until they are two or three years old or more. Women are hospitable to hungry infants other than their own. I have several times seen them quiet other people's children by suckling them. Babies, of course, accompany their mothers everywhere. The infant is carried inside the dress in front when the woman is going to or returning from the fields, for at these times her back is always occupied with the conical basket, or is bending under the weight of heavy loads. While the mother is actually tilling the land the baby is generally transferred to the back, its head appearing at the wedge-shaped opening in the dress. The child's face is often congested as if suffocation were imminent. It always looks wretchedly uncomfortable, but is happy enough. On the 32nd day after birth there is a head-shaving, but there is no special ceremony for the occasion nor any feasting. Some bystander simply wets the head all over with water and then shaves away all the hair, except from one patch in the centre of the crown $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 1, which is left untouched. The head-shaving is, I believe, an invariable custom both for boys and girls. When the children attain to three or four years of age they are often left at home in the charge of their father, or for some old gaffer or gammer to look after; but the little girls very soon begin to learn field work, following their mothers, with miniature conical baskets on their backs, and tiny knives thrust into their girdles behind. The little boys go about the village with toy-dancing axes, made of reeds, or pretend to play the aluts game. Wherever they wander they are certain of a kindly reception. They totter along the edges of the different house-roofs, which often constitute the only roadway, but hardly ever fall over. Accidents do happen occasionally. I have heard a little boy come down with a dull thud on the ground below, and have seen him lie as if dead at the foot of the wall. Horrified friends have carried him away, he has been a little sick or sleepy, but next day has been going about the same as usual. They never seem to get hurt.

Puberty.

Among Káfirs there is no particular ceremony for a girl on reaching the age of puberty. She goes to the woman's retreat for the allotted number of days, and afterwards wears a woman's cap. That is all, I believe, but for boys there are particular formalities which must be observed before they are permitted to wear the virile garment—loose trousers. The usual custom is for boys to be taken to Dizane's shrine

at the Giché festival arrayed in their emblems of manhood, a sacrifice is made and there is a feast, lavish or penurious, according to the wealth of the parents. I was told that the sons of poor people were often allowed to associate themselves with the ceremonies carried out by youths of richer families. I was also informed that the boys who take part in the Sanowkun of a Kaneash are exempted from further observances, but it is probable that even in such cases an offering is also made to Dizane at the proper time. I have seen boys under 12 smeared with blood at the Sanowkun, boys who certainly had not reached the age of puberty. Outside Káfiristán, on a visit to Chitrál, for instance, boys may wear trousers, but must not do so in their own country until the proper observances have been complied with.

Káfirs are very fond of adopting or being adopted as sons or as brothers. The former custom has already been referred to, and it has been explained that the latter is not unfrequently a form of blackmailing, or a dignified way of receiving payment for work done, the Káfir always expecting his "brother" to give him a valuable present in return for a safe conduct through a district infested by Káfir marauders, or for other service. It is also employed to symbolise a real and sincere friendship between two men, only one of whom is usually a Káfir. The ceremonies required are as follows:—

When a man adopts a son the first thing required is to sacrifice a goat and remove the kidneys, which are cooked and divided into fragments by a third person, who feeds the two, going through the ceremony, by giving each alternately a portion on the point of a knife, until the kidneys are consumed. Then the adoptor bares his breast and has one of his nipples smeared over with ghee, which the son sucks off heartily, and the ceremony is completed. Adoption.

For becoming brothers, the procedure is much the same as the foregoing, except for the final horror. The two men swearing friendship and brotherhood sit side by side, each with an arm over the other's shoulder. The goat is sacrificed, and the kidneys eaten in the way already described, while at certain intervals the two men look at one another, and go through the form of kissing. Sometimes a blue turban cloth is thrown over the shoulders of the pair, and at the conclusion of the ceremony one or the other utters a few devout words in praise of Imra. Originally, no doubt, these ceremonies had a more binding power than they have at the present day, when, as far as non-Káfirs are concerned, they are chiefly used as a means of getting money. Nevertheless, they are not without a certain value even now in the Bashgul valley. I adopted Shermalik as my son in the unpleasant way mentioned, and became brother to the High Priest, Torag Merik and to Karlah Jannah. On one occasion I declaimed against Torag Merik for his faithlessness to me, his ceremonial brother, and reduced him for a time to shamefacedness. The priest's children and children-in-law used to call me "totta" (father), by reason of the ceremony I had gone through with that individual. Shermalik always addressed me as "father."

GAMES.

Boys and girls do not play at the same games. The girls play at ball, at a kind of knucklebones in which, however, walnuts are used, and at swinging, while any boy amusing himself in any of these ways would be despised. From the age of five upwards little girls play untiringly with a bouncing ball made of wool. The object is to keep it bouncing regularly, while between each pat the player spins round once. The girls' game at knucklebones is played with an uneatable kind of walnut. Several of these fruits are spread out between the legs of a player. She tosses up one with her right hand catching it in her left, and while it is falling snatches up the others in a particular order and arrangement. Swinging is the most popular amusement of all for girls, who swing by the hour. They sing shrilly all the time without cessation. Young women often join in the sport, and on Agar days in May, dozens amuse themselves in this way. A tree or a steep slope is usually selected. A big girl seats herself on the swing rope. A crowd of girls then join hands and drag her up the slope as far as they can. When let go she swings far out, perhaps nearly to the top of a tree lower down the hill, and is much put to it to keep her dress decently arranged. All the time she sings with the other girls some snatch of song in alternate lines. Children's games.

Boys play very rough games. A favourite pastime is for a boy to make a sudden dash at another boy looking in another direction, or while engaged in the same trick on a third, and throw him down. At the shíl competitions, between the intervals of the throwing, it was common to see half-a-dozen boys hurled to the ground at a time.

We were on housetops at the time, and at one place there was a sheer fall of 30 feet. Some of the players fell actually on the edge of this drop. None of the grown-up men and women took the slightest notice of the children. I asked a man if it never happened that a boy fell over and was killed. He replied that it did occur occasionally but not very frequently.

A game constantly played at the same time of the year is merely an imitation of the national dance. But this is an exception to all other children's sports, because girls and boys play at it together. A number of youngsters of both sexes march or trot round and round in a circle singing. At a distance they look as if they were all affected with a shockingly bad limp. They carry sticks over their shoulders, and although the singing is most discordant they keep capital time.

Boys play a game with walnuts in the following way. A circle a foot and a half in diameter is levelled on the hill side, the slope behind giving a vertical back wall to the circle of some three or four inches in height. In the middle of the circle there is a hole one and a half inches in diameter and three or four inches deep. The players standing down hill five feet or so take any number of walnuts up to a handful and try to throw them into the hole. Those which remain outside are then thrown at with another walnut. If the player hits one he continues his hand; if he misses his place is taken by another boy. This game is played with considerable skill, the real test of which is the throwing at the walnuts which remain outside the hole. The boy throwing invariably first wets the walnut he is about to cast with his tongue, then, taking steady aim, raises his hand well above his head and throws hard.

At Kámdesh the boys one day started playing another game on my housetop. It surprised me that no one was hurt. During the game three boys were sent flying off the roof. Fortunately the fall was not more than 12 or 14 feet, and was into heaps of snow many feet in depth. In the distance I saw the same game being pursued with vigour on the tops of houses two and three stories high, but perhaps for my benefit the young Káfirs outdid themselves in their rough-and-tumble amusement. They were soon more or less completely smeared with blood from cuts on shins, fingers, &c. The game was played as follows:—One side of four boys faced an equal number of adversaries whose object it was to defend a goal marked out by a circle a foot in diameter. Each boy seized a big toe with the hand of the opposite side and hopped about on the other foot which was kept in front. If he released the big toe and was thrown down he had to stand aside and become a spectator until the round was finished. He was permitted, however, on occasion to place the held foot on the ground and rapidly pass the fore foot over it to the rear, and might then do his best rushing about in crab-like fashion and fighting, but he must still never let go of the big toe for a single instant. The plan of operations was usually for the whole of the attacking side except one to hop forward and try fully to occupy their opponents or knock them over and put them out of play, and in this way allow their own "back" to get through. Sometimes the scrimmages were most exciting. The long scalp lock is justly considered the best of all possible grips. More than once the attacking back had got right through and nearly reached the goal, when one of the opposite side caught him by the hair swinging him clean off his feet, and in one instance off the roof as well. It was impossible not to admire the perfect temper and good nature of the boys. They dashed at one another like little furies with fierce and determined faces, in more than one instance streaming with blood, but the moment the round was over they were as happy and jolly together as possible. Their keen sense of justice was admirable to witness. In the whole course of the game there was not a single dispute. Several men looked on cheering the performers with laughter and applause, but they were never appealed to in a single instance to decide any point in the game.

A favourite amusement of the boys is shooting arrows. A dozen little Káfir boys found a dead crow near my house. This was a great find. They stuck it up, and at about 12 paces riddled it through and through with arrows. The worst shots were not more than a few inches out. It was a curious reflection for me that any one of these children in an ambush could send one of their iron-tipped arrows through a man's heart. I subsequently heard of an instance where a Káfir boy hardly more than 13 killed a Pathan in the way mentioned. The bows are weak to look at, but shoot very well. The usual game is for the boys to divide into two parties and shoot at marks, which consist of two pairs of sticks stuck into the ground 25 or 30 yards apart. At such ranges the shooting was sometimes wonderfully accurate.

The boys are very fond of rough-and-tumble fighting; one section of a valley against another. I have watched the boys at Kámdesh amusing themselves in this way at my next door neighbour's. They would tumble from the housetop into the room below,

then out of the verandah on to the raised platform, thence down the notched ladder and along the edge of a little cliff which bounded the level space on which my house was built. Once there that round of the game seemed finished, and there was nothing for it but to begin all over again. I saw one boy dragged a dozen yards simply by the hair of his head, while another urchin was pulling his legs in an opposite direction. He was only about nine or ten years old, but he never made a murmur. Why his hair did not come out was a wonder to me. Many a time the boys, tumbling down the ladder, had hair-breadth escapes from being killed or maimed for life. No one, except the followers I had brought from India, seemed to think that anything unusual was happening. One of my men rushed forward to interfere, and got laughed at by all the spectators. The boy is father to the man, and this Spartan form of enjoyment, the ferocious looks, the absence of anything like laughter, the savage cries, and fierce blows, must teach the Káfir youth to endure anything. The tortures which English boys occasionally inflict on one another are as nothing to the sights I witnessed. As soon as it was all over, victors and victims alike showed by their manner that nothing unusual had occurred.

It will be convenient here to describe also the amusements of the men. The shíl throwing has been already described at page 82. Men's games.

In the early spring, every day, and almost all day, archery is practised as a sport. The men and lads divide into two parties, and shoot at marks placed on opposite slopes of a gully or some other convenient spot. They consist of a single stick about 2 feet high, and are usually about 80 yards apart. Almost everybody joins in the game. Those who are too old to play, and others who come late, are enthusiastic spectators, cheering every good shot. There is almost always some one among them accustomed to public speaking. Such a man, when some particular cleverness has been shown, will break out into laudations of the marksmen, particularly if the latter belongs to some well-known family, or is a famous warrior. Such a one will be greeted with a speech, running something like this:—"Oh, well done; well done you, thou son of rich parents," and so on. I noticed that being proclaimed the son of rich parents was always considered a high form of praise. The mark itself was very rarely hit, never more than two or three times in an afternoon, but comparatively very few shots were very wide of it. The two sides fired alternately, man by man. The moment a man had shot his arrow he scampered off to the mark, apparently quite heedless of those behind who were still shooting. There was often some very careful measuring required to determine which of two or three arrows sticking in the ground was actually nearest to the mark. No disputes ever arose. If there were differences of opinion some bystander was appealed to, and his decision was invariably accepted as final. An amusing point of the game was to see a man at the mark pointing to one of his own side about to shoot, the exact inch on the mark he was to strike, as though hitting the stick anywhere was not a piece of the greatest good luck. The method of counting the score was decidedly faulty, for an arrow which almost grazed the mark and went on for two or three yards might in the result be counted after others which plumped into the ground a yard from the base of the stick, and were consequently not nearly such good shots. Archery.

A moderately popular game played by men is to dig two holes a couple of inches in diameter and six yards apart on some housetops, and then roll walnuts from one hole to the other. The object is to get the walnut into the hole or as near to its edge as possible. The particular skill required is to judge the necessary strength and to allow for the irregularities of the housetop. Sides are formed, and great excitement is shown at a promising shot. The men on the same side as the roller judge whether to leave the nut alone or help it by brushing out of its way small obstacles, such as dust or bits of twig. They behave very much like curlers in Scotland on similar occasions. Rolling walnuts.

Men also play a kind of "touch," only instead of the hand being used it is necessary to tread with the foot on a man's instep to make a capture. This leads to some modification of the English game. For instance, a man on a lower roof may be pushed back by the others and so kept in a position where he cannot possibly put his foot on any of theirs. He then has to dodge about for a chance of getting on a level with them. "Touch."

A very good and extremely popular game is called aluts. It is exactly like quoits, flat stones being used instead of the quoit. Whenever a number of Káfirs are collected together on level ground and have nothing to do they almost invariably start this game. The marks are placed 25 to 30 yards apart. The details of play and the manner of counting exactly resemble those of the English game, except that in Káfiristan any number almost may play at a time, and there is no pedantic strictness about the exact spot where the flat stone must leave the player's hand. It is capital sport to watch, Aluts.

all participating are so keenly interested, while many display remarkable skill in dropping their stones on to the mark, or in knocking aside those of their opponents. I myself could never cast the heavy flat stones so that they did not turn over in the air, and consequently could never take part in a game. At such games as this Káfirs are seen at their best. Everyone is excited but thoroughly good tempered. A really good shot is frequently applauded by friends, foes, and spectators equally. There is never any occasion for an umpire. The players are wonderfully fair and just. The most important men of the tribe often act as leaders of their sides in the aluts game.

Miscellaneous sports.

Young men occasionally amuse themselves with athletic exercises, stone throwing against each other, running, and jumping, and also display their activity in various other ways, such, for instance, as by holding a short stick tightly with both hands and yet jumping over it backwards and forwards. Occasionally they try simple acrobatic feats. I watched one of their friendly competitions at Purstám, when in my honour several Kám men actually competed with Rámguilis, their hereditary enemies. The most remarkable point about the display was the extraordinary equality of the competitors. In one event, three standing jumps, the winner cleared about 25 feet, but nearly all the rest were within a few inches of him. So also with several other of their contests. Like other young men, Káfirs are fond of skylarking, but their frolics are apt sometimes to end in fighting, but as in the villages they almost always put aside their daggers before they begin, peace is usually restored by the bystanders before much harm is done.

Stone-bow practice.

All young Káfirs both men and boys wander about their villages with the Eastern variety of the stone-bow, with which they shoot at small birds, bits of twig, or anything which they find suitable for a mark. The weapon is identical with the Indian "galail." They are fairly expert in its use, but not nearly so accurate as some Chitráli boys I have watched shooting apples off a tree.

Swimming.

Swimming is an amusement as well as a necessary part of a Káfir's education. On inflated goatskins a man will cross rapid streams, taking with him a goat or even a cow. A party on the march always has one of these goatskins as part of its equipment. When wanted for use it is inflated by means of a reed, while the swimmer's clothes are either put inside or carried on his head. I have witnessed exciting scenes where a man has been swimming a swift flowing river, and has had to make frantic exertions to prevent himself being carried down stream on to rocks. Káfirs seem insensible to the coldest water.

DANCING AND MUSIC.

Occasions of dancing.

Dancing enters greatly into the inner life of the Káfirs. It is a religious exercise, a spectacular performance, and an amusement, but it is possible that there is no such thing as purely secular dancing. In Eastern countries religion is so mixed up with the manners and customs of a people that it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to separate them. So with Káfir dancing. Children play at dancing; boys on the march will frequently stop for an instant or two, shuffle a few steps, stamp a little, and then go tramping on with an entire absence of anything like self-consciousness. I have watched a youth lying on a bank resting his load, while all the time his limbs were twitching to the rhyme of a song he was singing aloud or to himself. Yet in all these instances I imagine the performers are practising a religious exercise, even though they may be unaware of the fact themselves. Káfirs dance when they are happy, and when they are plunged in grief at the death of relatives. When anyone is sorely hurt from an accident, or when he is sick or dying from small-pox or some other disease, people congregate in his room to amuse him, I was told; but my own idea is that it is to help the individual's recovery; that it is a form of supplication to the gods. At funeral ceremonies people caper about while the tears may be streaming down their cheeks. The Káfir gods are propitiated by songs, dancing, and feasting, which includes sacrifices, and never in any other way.

In any description of Káfir dancing it is necessary to describe also the occasion which gives rise to the exercise. The chief of these are:—

- (1.) The dances of the Jast to the gods.
- (2.) The dances to the illustrious dead (ancestor and hero-worship).
- (3.) The homicide's thanksgiving dance to Gísh.
- (4.) The women's dance to the gods while the men are raiding.
- (5.) The dances on the death of a Káfir.
- (6.) The dances in celebration of the erection of effigies.

These religious exercises are performed inside the *gromma*, or outside in the open air, according to the season of the year. The *gromma* has already been described. It is a big square building with two rows of wooden pillars running down the middle. A large fire is lit on the hearth, and the musicians are stationed at the east of the building. Facing them on the opposite side of the fire is the priest gorgeously dressed, while on his right and left are the *Pshur* and the *Debilála* respectively. These form an inner circle which is surrounded by a single line of the *Jast*, all decked out in every scrap of finery they possess. The dancing begins with three rounds to *Gísh*, succeeded by a similar number to each of the other deities, and winding up with the dance to *Krumai*.

The dances
of the *Jast*
to the gods.

When all are ready and in their places the band strikes up. It consists usually of three tiny drums and two or three wretched-toned reed pipes. The drum-heads do not exceed four inches in diameter, and are contracted in the middle like hour-glasses. They are beaten by slaves, who strike the drum with a short piece of stick in the right hand, while the left is engaged in tightening the stretched hide surfaces by pulling on certain arrangement of leather thongs. The pipes are simple hollow reeds about a foot long furnished with two holes beside the end apertures. One of the ends is shaped as though to fit the mouth; but, curiously enough, it is the opposite end which the player puts to his lips. Only two, or at most three, different notes can be sounded by manipulating the two holes and the shaped extremity. The pipes are always played by amateurs. The music is most feeble and discordant. I could never distinguish between the different tunes played, if difference there was. The time is accurately kept by the drums. It was only by noting the difference in the drum taps that I could ever tell one dance from another.

Music.

The pipes do not play, and the audience indulge in preliminary catcalls for the *Gísh* rounds. Then the spectators become silent and the dancing begins. All the *Jast* stand looking inwards towards the fire, and at *Kámdesh* seem to take their time from the priest, who with the *Pshur* and the *Debilála* are inside the circle of the *Jast*. All the performers begin by twisting rapidly their shining dancing axes, which they hold vertically by the lower end. The *Kám* priest is a famous dancer. He begins by shuffling in such a rapid manner that he seems to vibrate from head to foot, as if he was standing on the floor of an engine going at full speed along the line. After a time he stops vibrating and stamps vigorously forward towards the fire, and then dances back to his former position, kicking his toes quietly at the fire as he retreats. The *Jast* begin when the priest begins. Their step is a jerky shuffle with a side movement of the toes of one foot to mark the third beat of the drum. Then when the priest, changing from the stationary to the progressive style, dashes towards the fire, they all turn to the right, lower their axes and plunge onwards as though they were trying to smash their fantastic boots on the earthen floor. When the priest stops at the fire and begins to dance backwards they all turn inwards again and keep time with him by leisurely forward kicks until the moment comes for the energetic shuffling to recommence. Occasionally one of the *Jast* while stamping round will turn and go backwards a few steps, holding his axe horizontally above his head with both hands, and jerking it sideways in time to the drums. Another will jerk his disengaged hand sideways in front of his left shoulder, but this is the exception.

In the *Imra*, *Dizane*, and other dances the pipes wail tunelessly, and are weakly supplemented by hand clapping on the part of the dancers during the shuffling stage, but not by the audience. *Krumai* is the last of the deities honoured, but her dance does not necessarily complete the ceremonies. The *Káfirs* are so indefatigable that they sometimes go through the list of the chief deities over and over again. There is no standing in one place, nor any shuffling in the *Krumai* dance. At the first beat of the drums and squeak of the wind instruments all the dancers begin to trot round the building, some with swoops like old-fashioned waltzing, others going sideways, fast or slow, according to taste. On one occasion I noticed particularly one huge man. His idea of the thing was a high-actioned step which brought his knees alternately to the level of his waist. He did nothing else, but went round and round with an air of complete self-satisfaction on his face. At the same dance one or two of the other performers did equal honour to themselves and me by dancing in front of me with delighted grins on their faces. This was a compliment to a guest. I cried "shamish" (well done!) as politeness demanded, and away they went again. The *Krumai* dance is the only frivolous part of these performances. The men's faces are usually as stolid looking as their fathers' wooden effigies, except that the exercise is so severe that it makes even the hard-trained *Káfirs* sweat profusely. In fact, these dances are really solemn occasions. All those taking part do so by virtue of their rank as *Jast*. They know

that the eyes of the natives, envious or admiring, are upon them the whole time. They have the look of men conscious of the exalted position they occupy, and equally aware of the responsibilities it entails.

The Pshur.

In strange contrast to the other dancers is the Pshur. At Kámdesh this man used to appear in his dirtiest dress if, indeed, he had more than one, and without dancing boots. He swung about at his pleasure, and looked as if, being overcome with wine, he had wandered into the sacred circle by accident. There was always a chance of his diversifying the proceedings by seeing a fairy and amusing us with his antics.

The Debilála.

The Debilála, on the other hand, danced heavily but reverently, and after the Gísh rounds sang the praises of each god in succession.

Women dancers.

Often several women are associated with the dance. Their place is outside the Jast, between the latter and the spectators, where they are sometimes greatly crushed. Their appearance is not pleasing. Their dirty faces, unkempt hair, and general slovenliness, are but slightly relieved by the fillets of the girls, the horned caps of the women, and the slight attempts at ornamentation of all. One woman perhaps binds a piece of bright coloured silk round the horns of her head-dress, others hang sashes from one shoulder of fragments of cloth, or old turbans covered in some instances with ears of wheat, which look quite pretty; but the dirty clothes, especially any underclothing showing beyond the edge of the upper dress, combined with the general sombre colouring of the women's clothing, make the female dancers very depressing objects. However, no one takes any notice of them, everybody's attention being reserved for the parti-coloured men. In the dance the women move in ungraceful jerks, each step being hardly 1 inch in length. They vary the monotony of this movement by turning slowly round and round heavily and awkwardly, the hands being carried breast high.

Outdoor dances.

The outdoor dances of the Jast are much the same as those performed in the gromma, except that the priest does not play so prominent a part in them. He takes his place in a single ring with the others, and the movements are the same as those already described.

The dances to the illustrious dead

These annual observances are enacted with the usual feasting, but instead of taking place inside the gromma the dancing is performed on the roof, and the proceedings are shorn of much of their picturesqueness by the absence of all bright-coloured dresses, which it appears can only be worn in the service of the gods. The only decorated people at the Kámdesh ceremony on March 28, 1891, were a man named Samatu Malik, who composed the hymn, a Jast, named Mír Ján, who acted as his assistant, and the Ur Jast, who, in virtue of his office, wore a turban and a sash. No dancing boots were worn. When I reached Kámdesh gromma to see the show I found a troop of men stamping round the smoke-hole on the roof to the accompaniment of a large and a small drum. The two hymn composers chanted a sentence together, and all the throng sang a response in unison, and so on. At intervals there were scramblings for walnuts, much consumption of cheese and other viands, and wine, while several young women were incessantly employed in fetching snow for the spectators to eat. The proceedings were as follows:—

Samatu Malik in the centre of the crowd began to chant in praise of a mentioned name. It consisted of a string of five or six words. All the rest then sang an evidently well-known response. After three or four sentences had in this way been chanted and responded to, all began stamping in tune to the drum taps, bending over to watch their feet all the time. Then, after a moment or two, all with one accord, still chanting and chorussing, began to stamp, step, limp, or prance round and round, each according to his own taste. At intervals a dancer would turn round and proceed backwards, setting, as it were, to the man behind him, the two jerking their hands rhythmically, or a group of four or five would participate in a vigorous ground stamping. No women took part in the dancing.

The homi-
cide's thanks-
giving dance
to Gísh.

There is nothing distinctive about this dance. Each of the returned braves (at Kámdesh) decks himself out as well as he can, and, carrying a dancing axe, goes with the women of his family to the dancing place. Any clothes brought back after stripping the slain are thrown down in front of the rude altar there, and the men, heading the string of women, dance the prescribed number of rounds to Gísh. In the intervals the women shower wheat-grains over the heroes. The solemnity of all concerned—men, little girls, and women—is very great. Generally, after the wheat has been thrown and before the dancing is resumed, some old man eloquent shouts out the praises of the warriors and of their forebears in a tone which might often be mistaken for anger by the uninitiated.

I once arrived at Lutdeh (Bragamatál) while the tribesmen were absent on a raiding expedition. The following is an account of what I saw, copied from my diary:—

“The women according to custom have abandoned their field work, and are all congregated in the village. For the greater portion of each day and for the whole of each night they employ themselves solely in dancing and feasting. They have elected three Mírs, the chief of whom is Kán Jannah’s wife. These three persons direct the revels, and contribute greatly towards the feasting. Kán Jannah’s wife is carried from one place to another as a ‘flying angel’ on the shoulders of a stalwart young woman, each of the other Mírs holding one of her hands. Whenever these four with their escort attempt the bridge, each time I feel absolutely certain that an accident is inevitable. The little party staggers over the narrow shaking bridge, and then starts off at a run to the outspoken delight of the onlookers. Occasionally the women dance on some convenient housetop. In the afternoon they invariably feast and dance under the big mulberry tree in the east village, and use the east or west village dancing-place according to the position of the sun. During the night all congregate at the east village dancing place.

The women’s dance to the gods while the men are raiding.

“Although they all seem abandoned to feasting and holiday-making, they are nevertheless engaged in strictly religious ceremonies. To watch them at night, when the majority are obviously thoroughly tired, leaves no doubt in the mind on this point. I have more than once secretly approached the dancing throng at midnight and in the early morning, and have observed by the fitful light of the wood fire how exhausted and earnest the women looked. One young woman shrugging her shoulders in time to the music had streams of perspiration rolling down her face, although she was all muscle apparently. The exertions these women undergo are astonishing to see. Many of the very old women have to give up from sheer exhaustion, but the middle-aged and the young work away singing and dancing hour after hour and night after night. I feel sure they undergo quite as much exertion as their male relations who are absent and fighting.

“The dancing measures are marked by a drum and by general chorussing, or, when the slave-boy drummer gets tired, by the cadences of the voices alone. Those in whose cause he labours, might at night be thought the creatures of a dream. Very old women and girls of 10 or 12, comely faces and hideous old crones—every description of form and figure is represented in the singing, shuffling crowd. The aged are very earnest and solemn; the young girls, on the other hand, are ready to seize every opportunity of making improper remarks to those of the male spectators of whom they do not stand in awe. Still the great majority of the dancers at all times attend strictly to the dancing. On my arrival at Lutdeh, on taking my seat on the dancing platform, a very large number of the women gave me the customary greeting of welcome as they passed me dancing, and afterwards took little or no notice of my presence, while none showed the slightest sign of shamefacedness. They evidently believed themselves to be engaged in an occupation which did them infinite credit in every way. I could read as much in their faces and in their gestures.

“All wore horned caps, except the little girls, and with the same exceptions nearly all wore gaiters and soft leather boots or dancing shoes. Every woman had on the national budzun, worn according to the amount of finery she had to display. For instance, one had donned a gaudy silk robe belonging to her husband. She wore it underneath the budzun, one side of which was slipped off the shoulder to show the splendour of the under-garment. Others not so well provided had to be content with showing their cotton shifts in a similar way, or with hanging a pretty scarf embroidered with cowrie shells from one shoulder. A large number carried dancing axes, and not a few had daggers. One old woman drew her dagger and flourished it clumsily before my eyes for some minutes. The other dancers seemed to admire her action, and passed behind her, leaving her to fascinate me. Every scrap of ornament a woman or her family could boast of was produced and worn. Certain brass axes with a little horse on their upper edge were delightful objects, and my praise of their beauty was highly appreciated. One carried by a pretty girl half married to Utahding of Kámdesh I admired very much. The girl was delighted, and sang more shrilly and shuffled more vigorously than ever, while a little girl, the daughter of Gazab Shah, shouted out excitedly that the axe belonged to her family, and was only lent to the other girl. There were about half-a-dozen women with the blinker ornaments.

“The dances were to Imra, Gísh, Dizano, and the other deities in turn. After each dance there was a short rest, after which the women collected again in the centre of the platform. Then one or two recited a well-known line with all the refinements of anthem-tortured words, to which the remainder sang a response; then all facing to

Dancing
in private
houses.

the right started off shuffling or lightly stamping in the various figures of the dance. That to Gísh was all shuffle, with a rapid twist of the toes outwards at each step to keep time with the drum."

Before I go on to explain the funeral dances and those performed at the erection of effigies, which may be conveniently described together under the title funeral ceremonies, the kind of dancing which takes place in private houses, for Jast ceremonies, or for sick people, for amusement, may be briefly noticed.

For the Jast ceremonies the ritual is much the same as that carried out at the gromma. The Kaneash who gives the entertainment dances between the hearth pillars with the Debilála and the Pshur, while the others dance round the room close to the line of spectators seated on benches or stools along the walls. After the fire has been taken away, some five or six men, visitors or villagers, are provided with dancing boots and turbans, pine-wood torches are lighted, and one or two women of the entertainer's family make their appearance, ornamented, to the best of their powers, with shell and other decorations, and usually wearing a cowrie-adorned belt, from which depend metal discs, trephine-shaped iron ornaments, hollow metal bells, which clang and clash with every movement of the dancer. Then the drums start the usual one, two, three, pause, one, two, three, pause, and the movements begin. The central three shuffle, stamp, and cross over; then back again to their original positions. The circle men outside the hearth push, stamp, and plunge round the room from right to left in the manner already described. The women dance very slowly, revolving in a jerky, clumsy manner, and moving in the opposite direction to the male dancers. When any of the latter move in a reverse way from their usual direction they continually overtake and pass the women. The exercise is of a severe kind, and even the leanest Káfir soon begins to shine with his exertion.

This is a type of all other dancing in houses, although details vary, and the dancers are not necessarily dressed up, as they must be on the more important occasions. The stamping is such a strain on the feet that boots are generally, though not invariably, worn. Often at private dancing parties the music is supplied by a kind of harp, the boat-like stand of which is held between the musician's knees, who helps the instrument with his voice. He is voluble in utterance, and has all manner of little affectations such as musicians seem to have all over the world.

There are many kinds of dancing to each of which particular names are given, but they depend more on the place where or the occasion when they are held than on any particular step or movement. All dances on the wooden platform are known as "Dam Nát," while those on the solid ground adjoining are called "Zhige Nát." All the Agar celebrations are of the former variety. On June 30, at Kámdesh, I went to see one of two dances going on at different places at the same time, called "Patlo Nát." It was late at night, and the scene was more than usually picturesque, because the only light came from blazing logs a short distance away. None of the dancers were ever in anything but a fitful light, while the great majority were in absolute gloom. To the accompaniment of drums, a refrain was sung and responded to by Samatu Malik, who was in the centre of a densely packed crowd of men who circled round him. One of the most effective movements was a kind of solemn prance, each man with his stick over his shoulder.

A dance called the "Presun dam Nát" is danced by hopping solemnly twice on one foot, while the knee of the other leg is kept at the height of the waist.

Wai dancing.

The only examples of the Wai people's dance I have seen was an imitation given me by a Kám boy. He held a dagger at arm's length. He kept flourishing the point, which was held downwards, by a movement of the wrist alone, and hopped twice on each foot alternately, dancing round and round, occasionally backing for a few steps and then going forward again.

The Presun
style.

On one occasion three Presun men gave me a small entertainment to show their style of dancing. Of the three one acted as musician also. His instrument was merely a boat-shaped winnowing utensil, on the bottom of which he drummed. He sang all the time a chant in alternate lines with the two others. They appeared to use the same words over and over again. This, however, did not prevent the singer from becoming dramatic in his utterance, for after a time the man beating the wooden vessel appeared to get very much excited by the words he was uttering. After the singing had lasted several minutes the men began to sway their bodies in time to the music, and the swaying gradually merged into a more or less regular dance. The movements consisted of the jerk of one foot about nine inches forward, and a second jerk at the end of the step. At the next bar the other foot was brought up to the level of its fellow, and so on. As they warmed to their work they turned and twisted,

raised and waved their hands or clapped them in time to the music. To do all this and yet keep strictly to the limits of the step described is most laborious. Subsequently inside a house these men danced and sang for me again. One of their songs, which sounded like a perpetual repetition of six or eight words, was remarkable, because a second singer used to strike in about the middle of the tune and appeared to try and make his voice harmonise with the others. The bystanders helped the singers by beating time with their hands.

Káfirs are greatly addicted to music and singing, and have considerable aptitude for both arts. Besides the drums and pipes already alluded to, and the small harp briefly mentioned, they have a kind of large black guitar and little fiddles which can be played skilfully. The fiddles are of rough construction, but I have heard Samatu Malik play pretty airs upon them, one in particular, called Shah Katur's air, which Malik heard during a visit to Mastuj, was quaint and pleasing. Some of the men have agreeable voices, but the women's are always hopelessly discordant. The chanting of songs is very monotonous and wearying.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The funeral ceremonies of the Káfirs are curious and fantastic. I have only witnessed those of the Kám tribe; but probably all the Siah-Posh have similar observances. Funeral ceremonies.

If a young child or an infant dies it is merely taken to the family receptacle at the cemetery and put in it. It is probable that no formalities of any kind are gone through for any individual under the age of puberty in girls, or unless the boys are entitled to wear cotton trousers. Young children.

On May 13, 1891, Dán Malik's little grand-daughter, aged about 10, lay dying. She was on a bed and only semi-conscious. The room was full of relations and friends. The men on one side of the room were busily occupied sewing clothes for the corpse. A crowd of women closely packed were at the foot and sides of the bed, and filled the air with lamentations. The atmosphere of the room was such that on entering it I broke out at once into a profuse perspiration. It was useless to beg that the poor child might be given a fair chance. The women trooped out in dozens into the verandah when asked to do so, but returned as soon as we left, and pressed round the bed as before.

The following day the girl died, and the body was carried to the cemetery. I watched the mournful procession from an adjacent housetop. First came several men carrying the corpse in a blanket, not shoulder high but at arm's length and close to the ground. Then followed male relations and friends looking very mournful. Lastly, the women followed singly or in pairs weeping aloud. I could not see how the corpse was dressed, for the blanket sagged down so much in the middle that only the waxen features, with the head covered with some white cloth, and the feet encased in red leather boots, were visible. It was impossible to intrude one's curiosity at such a moment, but I was told that the body was simply placed in a coffin box without any ceremony of any kind.

In December 1890, I watched the ceremonies observed on the death of the old wife of Torag Merik, the richest and one of the most important men of the Kám tribe. The dead woman had occupied the highest position among the women of the village. On a level space, formed by several contiguous housetops, nearly all the notables of Kámdesh assembled. In the centre of the concourse, on a bed supported at each corner by a slave, lay the body of the deceased, covered over with bright-coloured turbans. The head was adorned with a kind of crown of sprigs of juniper-cedar and monstrous imitations of feathers made by fastening bits of red cotton round sticks. The eye-brows, closed lids, and grey cheeks were exposed to view. The blinker silver ornaments were placed one on each side of the head, as with the body in a lying posture they could not be fixed as they would be worn during life. On the feet were dancing shoes fringed at the top with markhor hair. At the foot of the bed were a second pair of dancing boots of similar make. Festoons of wheat hanging from the bed proclaimed to all that the deceased during her life had given freely of her substance. Underneath the bed several women of the house were seated weeping and wailing, while many more surrounded the bier, circling slowly round it. One of the women, the deceased's daughter, stood on the left of the corpse, holding the bed-frame with both hands. She appeared to be the chief mourner. In the intervals of the music she addressed her dead mother in accents of shrill praise and lament, often without paying the slightest heed to the formal speeches presently to be referred to. None of the women were Torag Merik's wife.

their horned head-dresses or other ornaments. As the feeble pipes and drums marked the time the throng of women moved slowly round the bier sideways, from left to right, their hands uplifted to the level of their shoulders. With outspread fingers they incessantly turned the palm first towards themselves then towards the corpse, a gesture supposed to indicate "she has gone from us." Beyond the circle of women were a few men closely related to the dead woman. They also edged round sideways, and made a similar gesture to that of the women, except that the hands were twisted at the level of the brows, and the action was much more energetic. Outside these men a few couples danced round merrily in the usual stamping way. At the intervals of the music the bed was placed on the ground, and some one of the spectators, usually Samatu Malik, declaimed short staccato sentences praising the virtues of the deceased, her lavish feasts, and extolling her family and kindred.

Sunra and
Nílira.

On September 9 the heads of two young men Sunra and Nílira were brought into Kámdesh by some friendly Káfirs of another tribe. The two lads had been killed on a raiding expedition, and the heads had been severed from the bodies and brought in as an act of kindness to the parents. Merik and Dán, the fathers of the two young men, when they heard the sad news that their sons had been killed, threw themselves down from their housetops in utter abandonment to grief. The heads were met just outside the village by a multitude, composed almost entirely of women, weeping and lamenting with loud outcries. The heads of the youths were then escorted to their fathers' homes, when they were placed on beds. This happened in the morning.

In the afternoon about four o'clock the heads were taken in procession to the lower village dancing-platform, where a large crowd had collected. Each head was on a bed covered with bright-coloured cloth, such as turbans or pieces of silk, so arranged that the absence of the bodies could only be told by the ease with which the heads could be carried about. The Jast were seated all round on benches; the women sat on the ground. Female relatives of the deceased sat on the edges of the beds and kept bending forward, slowly shaking their heads from side to side, and apostrophizing the dead faces exposed to view. Each woman had a ragged garment over her ordinary dress, and allowed her hair to escape from its cotton cap and fall down her back. The men over their woollen robes wore each a goatskin as a mourning vestment.

The outcry of the women was very great, yet at a word of command it ceased almost entirely. Then lame Astán, an important Jast, stepped forward, buried his face in his sleeve, and appeared overpowered with grief. In a broken voice he proceeded to harangue the heads, extolling their bravery and the fame of their families. At intervals in his speech he cried out "Well done! well done!" After he had ended the beds were raised shoulder high, drums were beaten by four slaves, accompanied by a couple of reed pipes, and the throng of women circled round and round, stepping to the music, and twirling their hands shoulder high in the usual manner. Then Astán and two other elders came forward, and joined in the slow dance. It was a strange sight to see these three men dancing outside the circle of women, their tears flowing freely, their aspect that of extreme sorrow, while their movements were such as we associate with lightness of heart. They twirled their hands at the level of their brows, but were occasionally so overcome with emotion that one hand had to be raised to the face, and one only was left to twirl.

This dance over, the beds were again placed on the ground. The widows and near female relations, who had been standing round with their hands on the framework of the beds, or who had remained seated disconsolately on the ground, resumed their proper positions on the edge of the beds, and began to lament afresh. Their wailing is not a "boo-hoo-hoo," but is more like a regular chant, each line ending in "o-o-o-o, o, o, o," the voice gradually descending the scale and getting slower at each successive "o." Silence being again demanded, Samatu Malik advanced and addressed the heads until it seemed as if he would never stop. Meanwhile, wine and refreshments were being handed round to the whole company.

At length even the Kám chief orator had said all there was to say, and Nílira's head was carried away. After the lapse of a short interval Sunra's head was also carried off, the women accompanying them as far as the shenitán or cemetery, but most of the men and all the Jast took leave of the ghastly relics in a field, just short of the final resting place of the dead. The form of parting salutation was the motion of wafting a kiss, the head and lips only, not the hands, being used for the gesture. The next proceeding was to dress up two straw figures in the houses of the parents of Nílira and Sunra. These effigies were gorgeously attired, wore turbans, and were girdled with

belt and dagger. They received just as large a share of the women's attention as the heads had.

The same evening there was a great firing of guns from the Jinjám direction, which Basti. proved to be a funeral procession bringing the body of a famous warrior named Basti, who had died of fever at Bazgul, his own village, to the tribal headquarters, Kámdesh. Basti, it seems, had been a very "good" man, that is to say, a splendid fighter, and therefore his remains were brought to Kámdesh, where alone a hero's funeral could be properly conducted. The upper village at once began to fire off guns, and large numbers of people, Jast and simple, started off to meet the procession. Far ahead of the rest were a number of women, who declared their affliction by deafening cries. All those nearly related to the dead Basti were led by the hand by female friends. Then, in the midst of a large concourse of people, much firing of guns, and the wailing of women, Basti's body was carried on its stretcher to a house in the upper village, where some of his relatives dwelt. The head was crowned with a large turban, the face exposed, and the body covered with bright-coloured cloth. A bed having been substituted for the stretcher, the women took their places on it in the customary manner. After a time, when it was thought their grief had found sufficient expression, silence was enjoined, and Samatu Malik was invited to say a few appropriate words. He stepped to the foot of the bed and burst into tears. Then in broken accents he began his address to the dead man. Cheering up at the sound of his own high phrases, he praised the prowess of the dead Basti and the fame of his family until he was quite exhausted.

When he had ended it was quite dark, and most of the men, having finished their wine, walked sadly away. Late into the night somebody was still declaiming between the pauses of the lamentations of the women. The next morning Basti's corpse was carried to the upper dancing-platform. It was dressed in fine clothes with feathered sticks thrust into the folds of the turban. Out of each red leather boot also protruded one of these ornaments. A cowrie shell scarf was laid over the breast, and one or two men deposited their shields on the bed as they passed by. But Basti had lost all his goats and became very poor before he died, so that his bier was quite outdone in splendour by those holding the stuffed figures intended to represent Sunra and Nílira, which were also brought to the dancing-place at the same time. The three beds were raised shoulder high, and the music, dancing, and feasting were resumed. In fact, the greater part of the day was spent in listening to orations, in slow dancing, and in lamentations by the women. During the morning a group of women came bringing Nílira's young widow with her hair down her back, abandoned to grief. She went through the form of kissing all the figures.

In the afternoon three cows were killed in front of the three biers, and Nílira's straw figure and Basti's corpse were taken away to the coffins, but Sunra's straw figure was kept for another day's ceremony, for Sunra belonged to a great and wealthy family, and there was to be more feasting on his account. Many animals were slaughtered by Dán Malik, Sunra's grandfather, in order to keep up the position of the family. All night long the wailing over Sunra's grass representative continued, and early on the morning of September 9 an old woman was declaiming his genealogy with untiring persistence, while a crowd of women and many men seated on the benches listened to her words in rapt attention. When she was at fault for lack of matter, she repeated her last line over and over again until a fresh idea or a new way of expressing an old idea formed itself in her brain, but she seemed to have considerable power of ringing the changes on the names of all the boy's ancestors on both sides. Each fresh arrival, man or woman, went through the form of kissing the straw figure before selecting his or her seat. It seemed to be proper etiquette for the men to drop their walking clubs while performing this ceremony. When the time for refreshment came the men trooped off willingly enough, as did most of the women also, but a few of the latter, near relatives of the deceased Sunra, had to be greatly persuaded before they would consent to be supported away and leave the lay figure which did duty for their dead relation. A certain number always remained with the figure till the end of the day when it was carried off to the cemetery.

On September 10 it was the turn of Basti to have his grass figure taken to the dancing-house and for his relations to distribute wine and food, while the usual weeping, oratory, and dancing went on. But as he was a great warrior the ceremonies in his honour transcended those for the well-born but youthful Nílira and Sunra. As Basti's dummy was being carried to the dancing-place a regular fusillade of matchlocks was maintained. The young men had no such honours allowed them. Indeed, except when

the heads were first taken to their homes, I do not think a single gun was fired for them.

At the dancing-place, as soon as Basti's effigy arrived, the drums and pipers struck up a lively measure and the dancing began. The dressed-up figure on the bed with feathered sticks in turban and in boots, was raised by four men, not slaves, but people of importance. They danced the bed round and round, first to the right and then to the left, moving with a couple of springs in each foot which makes a very lively measure. At the same time they jerked the bed up and down so that if the dummy had not been well secured it would certainly have been thrown off. As it was, its position continually shifted, and it had to be replaced at each pause in the dance. After a time the exercise became less violent, the bearers being content to stand still, or merely jog the bier slightly in time to the drums and pipes. The other dancers were in three circles. The innermost was of women dancing and making the funeral gesture. The middle one was of men edging sideways and twirling their hands in front of their foreheads. The outermost comprised the bulk of the dancers, who moved briskly in pairs or singly. Several carried matchlocks, one carried a quiver of arrows, another a spear, and many had shields. All the Jast who took part in this circle dance went singly, as did the shield-bearers also. The latter seemed to have a particular step of their own. They kept waving their shields above them in a semi-circular sweep and turned half round as they did so. The remainder danced in pairs in the usual way.

Soon after mid-day the straw figure, which after 10 o'clock had been consigned to the care of toothless but marvellously fluent old crones, was carried away to the cemetery, under a great deal of gun firing. At the coffin place the straw figure was burnt, as Sunra's and Nílira's had already been burnt. The dead Basti's homicides were variously estimated, but all agreed that they were between 30 and 40 in number.

At the
shenitán.

When a body is placed in the coffin the clothes in which it is dressed are left with it. Thus the two heads and Basti's corpse would have all their silk vestments placed in the coffins with them. Should anyone steal this property it is generally believed that he would shortly afterwards sicken and die. When the straw figures are done with, and burnt in front of the coffins, their clothing is taken back again to the houses. Women are buried wearing their serpentine silver earrings and other ornaments. In answer to my questions, I was informed that slaves do undoubtedly steal these valuables occasionally, but do so knowing that if they are caught they will be exposed to the vengeance of the relatives of the despoiled dead. Several bodies are put in the same receptacle. It is only a very "big" man who is given a coffin all to himself. Besides clothes and ornaments, small wooden vessels containing bread broken up in ghee are placed in the boxes for the use of the dead. At the shenitán (cemetery) many of the coffins are decayed by age, and their contents are exposed to view. These consist of bones and the wooden vessels referred to. The boxes are never renewed, I think. All the pathology Káfirs know is derived from inspections of the coffin boxes. They knew all about "stone in the bladder," and explained to me that they had seen stones in the bodies of the dead at the shenitán. As a rule, no attempt is made to decorate the coffins, but there are exceptions to this rule, notably at a place close to Purstám, where there is a coffin under a shelving rock by the roadside. It is ornamented with a gaudy turban cloth depending from under the lid. It had on top the white stones Káfirs are so fond of placing in that position, probably for ornament, but possibly also to keep the wood from warping. There were two flags resting against the coffin, one white and the other red, fixed to the end of long poles. Also against the rock were placed three poles, the upper halves of which had been reduced to half the size of the lower halves.

The shenitáns, the cemeteries, are generally formed on a rocky spur close by the village. Sometimes they are on the flat just off the road. At Bragamatál the cemetery is immediately above the west part of the village, and so inconveniently near to the dwelling-houses that if the wind is in a particular direction the stench is appalling. At that particular place, also, some of the coffins have small wooden canopies built over them, a plan I have seen adopted in no other place. The choice of ground for a cemetery seems to be made on the idea that it must be quite near a village, and yet must not be on ground capable of being cultivated. I believe these places are considered impure, for neither the Kám priest nor the Debilála may even walk on the roads leading to them.

Mourning.

When the death of anyone of importance occurs in a village it is often signified by the firing of a gun. On the death of a wife the husband, after feasting the village, goes into seclusion, and remains in his own house for some thirty days. This is also done by a wife for a dead husband. Friends go to visit the bereaved people, to cheer

them up and condole with them. I went to a house once where there was a woman whose husband had been recently killed. The place was darkened, and in addition to the usual mourning dress she had on her head a square of cotton cloth, and what looked like a small bag depending from it over her left ear. Mourning garments are worn for a long time, possibly until the effigy is erected. Among the Kám all relations wear them, but among the Katirs it seems sufficient for the eldest son, the head of the family, to wear them, even for the death of a father. After a death the room in which the person died is purified by pouring in water through the smoke-hole by means of a wooden trough of a particular description. It is then sufficiently purified for everyone except the religious functionaries, who will not enter the apartment until an effigy has been erected to the deceased.

One year after the death of a Káfir of adult age an effigy has to be erected to his memory. This is both a duty and a privilege, and consequently has to be paid for by feasting the community. The style of image to be erected depends entirely on the amount of food to be distributed. One day's feasting is sufficient for a flat common affair, but to have the effigy placed on a throne or astride a couple of horses a three days' banquet would certainly be required. The chief expense in food distribution is not at the time of a relation's decease, but a year later, when the effigies are erected. Women, as well as men, are glorified after death by pious relatives, and in this way may be placed on an equality with men by being given a throne to sit upon. I was repeatedly assured by Káfirs that women's images were never placed on horses, but I have myself seen an outrageous figure of a woman seated astride of a couple of horses. Some of the wooden images are of a very large size, indeed there are very many varieties, each distinguished by a particular name. They are either kept under open sheds or are exposed to the air. To describe these images minutely would take up too much time and space. They are all carved on conventional models, and are made solely with axes and with knives. The more ponderous kinds are roughly fashioned in the forest, and are then brought into the village to be finished. Some of the best images have a mannikin seated on the left arm holding a pipe, others have similar little images perched on the chair handle. Several of the large images have all manner of quaint designs and carvings over their bodies. Some even look as if the carving were intended to imitate the tattooing of a tight "dhotie," such as the Burmese are so fond of. The people have a good deal of superstition about these effigies. Bad weather, which occurred while a slave was carving some images for me to take to India, was ascribed to the fact that images were being taken from the country, and I was informed that similar natural phenomena marked the carrying away of an image to Peshawar by a man named Mian Gul. The images are often decorated with wisps of cloth bound round the head, and where the juniper-cedar is easily obtainable by sprigs of the tree fastened to the brows. The faces of the effigies are carved precisely like the idols, and similarly white round stones are used for the eyes, and vertical cuts for the mouth or rather the teeth. The effigies are provided with matchlocks or bows and arrows, axes, and daggers, carefully but grotesquely carved, and commonly have a cartwheel-shaped ornament in the middle of the back. The effigies of males are given turbans, while those of women have a peculiar head-dress, which is possibly a rough imitation of the horned cap. To get a proper idea of these images photographs or drawings must be studied. There are no effigies in Presungul, and I was told that they are unknown in the Wai country also. It is probable, therefore, that they are peculiar to the Siah-Posh tribes.

The ceremonies observed when they are ready to be erected must now be described. Dancing is a great feature of the observances. On November 20 at the Kámdesh gromma, a great crowd had collected, the dancing-house roof, the steep hill-side, and every other point of vantage being occupied by spectators. When I arrived the performance was in full swing. In the centre of the dancing-place, close by the altar, was the effigy of a man. It was carried on the back of a slave, above whose head and shoulders it towered a couple of feet. The long straight legs were covered at the ends—there were no feet—by tufted dancing boots. A Badakhshi silk robe was thrown over the shoulders, and the head was bound round with a silk turban into which eight paint-brush-shaped contrivances of peacocks' feathers were thrust. The odd-shaped mouth, huge and solemn, the white stone eyes set close together, and the hobbing up and down of the big image as the slave bearing it shifted from one foot to the other in time to the music, and every now and then gave it a sudden bunch up, made a curious picture. The effigy bore a look of such massive grotesqueness that it ought to have been comic, but was not. It seemed a wonder that one man should be able to sustain so heavy a burden. He always looked tired, and

Dancing to
the effigies.

was frequently changed, but, nevertheless, the wood from which the image was cut must have been extremely light for one man to be able to uphold it. During the intervals of the dance the image was propped up against the altar, and left in charge of the women. Of these about two dozen, including little girls, the seniors wearing horned headdress circled slowly round the figure keeping time by a slow bending of the knees, and moving the feet only a few inches at a time. They incessantly moved one hand, palm upwards and breast high, slightly backwards and forwards, towards the bobbing effigy. This action of the hands is intended to symbolise the words, "As this dead person is, so also shall I become." All the women and little girls were shockingly dirty and unkempt, their garments being much torn. All the women wore the large serpentine earrings, and two or three had on silver blinkers also. Outside the women was a dense throng of men all dancing round from left to right. All the women of the inner circle were of the family of the deceased, while their male relations in the dancing crowd were distinguished from the others by the wearing of bright coloured clothes and all the bravery they possessed, and by each carrying a dancing axe. The music was supplied by three little drums and a couple of pipes. The "time" was such that a man could walk round and round by taking steps of not more than six inches in length at a somewhat slow pace. This gave great latitude to the dancer. He could march round in the manner described or take two skips on each foot alternately, prance, stamp, or rush forward, and still keep time with the music, everything depending on the pace he went. A favourite movement seemed to be to march round more or less steadily, merely raising the knees slightly, and then suddenly to rush violently at the orchestra with the head bent as in the attitude of butting. Nearly all the dancers were in pairs, with arms over one another's shoulders. Characteristically, if a man wanted to scratch his nose, he was just as likely to use his encircling arm as the free one without the slightest thought of the discomfort he was causing his partner by twisting the latter's face round. The splendidly dressed relatives danced singly, all the rest in pairs. Often in the mob, especially when near the musicians, the leading pairs would face round to those behind them, hammering their feet with great force on the ground, and bending over to watch the effect. Round and round they went, round and round, smiling, very happy, fully conscious of the excellence of their own performances, and never tiring. Aged men, with that touch of nature which makes us all akin, danced with an added grace from the consciousness that they were showing their juniors how the thing should be properly done. With wooden step they doubled up their knees, gyrated, performed the back step, side kick, all the figures of the highest style. These men never smiled, while they were frequently out of time. The axes were twirled by some, jerked with both hands by others, or were bobbed up and down on the shoulder. Every time the band stopped the head drummer always sounded a few last notes to show his finished touch, and his reluctance to stop. The intervals were filled up by extemporaneous addresses to the wooden image by an individual who was specially appointed for that duty. He extolled the liberality of the deceased, his bravery, and his good deeds, as well as the virtues of his ancestors. As the orators on these occasions are always members of the dead man's family, they always say all that is to be said on the subject, and never err on the side of false modesty. While the orator declaimed the dancers refreshed themselves with wine ladled from a tub with wooden cups. The same not particularly generous fluid was also circulated among the spectators constantly. Sometimes the musicians would stop altogether, and the dancing would recommence to the chanting of men's voices. The effect of their singing bore a strange resemblance to a Gregorian chant. The grey-beards and seniors, all importance, sat round the platform drinking wine and talking politics. Occasionally a notable would emerge from the dance, take off his finery, hang it over the rail, pay my sheepskin coat the tribute of a rub between the fingers, and then join in the general conversation.

Effigy of a
Waiguli
woman.

After a time I proposed to go home, but was requested to wait to see a woman's effigy which was being brought up to the dancing-place. The figure was very large, much larger than that of the man, and must have been very heavy. It required a crowd of people to carry it. The deceased was a Waiguli woman, married in Kámdesh, and evidently belonged to a wealthy family, as there were to be two days' dancing and feasting in her honour. The massive effigy was brought into the dancing ring, preceded by two men waving flags, one white and the other red, each being about two feet square, and made of coarse cotton; the white flag had a small worked centre about the size of half-a-crown. As soon as the image was placed in a proper position the lame Astán limped forward and addressed the stolid wooden face. At the end of his speech he went through the form of kissing the effigy, an action which was im-

mediately imitated by everyone present. The dancing in honour of the man's effigy was then resumed.

At the next interval old Astán stood forth again and declaimed against three absent individuals who had stolen a cow belonging to one of Umra Khan's people. He wound up by saying that unless restitution was at once made the culprits would be sent to Umra Khan for him to settle matters with them. At that time the Kám were most anxious to keep on good terms with Umra Khan, and nobody seemed to think there was anything unusual in introducing the topic of the theft in the middle of the effigy ceremonies.

On the 21st the dancing and feasting for the Waigul women began. The only remarkable feature about the performance was that no one wore dancing dresses or dancing boots. The two flags were carried in the middle of the dancers and were waved energetically. They can only be carried in procession in this way when the effigy is of a certain value. I was told that the large price of three cows was paid to the slaves who carved the Waigul woman's image. At one period of the dance women brought forward an immense number of quarters of cheeses. Each fragment was impaled on the end of a stick. One of these sticks was given to every woman present, both dancers and spectators. The dancers carried their portions over the shoulder, and revolved as before. One of the women dancers kept twirling a white metal bowl above her head as she circled round the effigy. This was to signify that the dead woman's relations were giving three feasts in her name. It was a symbol of distinction and honour. The feasting was of a lavish description, and was remarkable for the fact that the women were fed first, the only instance of the kind I ever noticed in Káfiristán. When the ceremonies were completed the images were taken away and placed in their appointed positions. Although these images are respected and even honoured, I do not think they are ever renewed or repaired when they once fall into decay.

Another form of memorial to the dead is a kind of menhir. It is about 3 feet high and often has a white stone placed on top of it; specimens are to be seen all over the country. There is but little ceremony in erecting them. A goat is sacrificed, some of the blood is thrown on to the stone, and that is all. Menhirs.

In the Dungul Valley in one of its more open spaces I noticed a detached fragment of rock half buried in the ground. About and around it stones have been carefully piled so as to form a narrow oblong structure with a flat top some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. It presented an appearance identical with the structures so constantly seen in Astor and Chitrál, except that instead of being built against a rock it was isolated and could be walked round on all sides. I asked my Káfir companion what it was intended for. To my surprise, they gave me the same answer I have always received to similar inquiries in Astor and Chitrál, that it was intended for coolies to rest their loads upon. But there are no coolies and no loads in Káfiristán to justify the erection of resting places for burdens, and this particular structure was the only one of the kind I have noticed in the country. A doubtful structure.

A very common way of commemorating the dead is by the erection of small effigies on the end of poles, which are supported on a pedestal some 3 feet high and 2 feet square. The poles are also squared and bear on their front surface a number of horizontal notches which correspond with the number of homicides the man committed in his lifetime. I believe they are exclusively erected to the memory of warriors, and I cannot remember seeing them anywhere except in the lower part of the Bashgul Valley, in the Dungul Valley, and in the Kalash village of Utzun. Little effigies.

A very elaborate monument is a gateway, standing by itself in a more or less isolated position, that is to say, away from houses. It consists of two square masonry pillars between 5 and 6 feet high, connected together by a wooden door frame. The woodwork is embellished with carving. From each pillar springs a squared pole surmounted by a small effigy represented as seated in a chair or on a horse, and furnished with weapons carved in the ordinary way. The poles are notched horizontally for the reason already stated. Between the two effigies a figure of a mannikin is often placed on top of the doorway, playing some musical instrument to amuse the dead hero. Such monuments can only have been erected after the expenditure of much labour. They are very effective in appearance. Memorial gateways.

SPORT.

There is good sport to be obtained in Káfiristán. The rivers teem with fish. Partridges, pheasants, and pigeons abound. There are also a few teal and other wild-fowl. The big game consists of bears, leopards, markhor, and wild sheep. There are, I believe, no ibex in the country, or at any rate in its eastern half. Sport.

Partridges. The partridge is the "chikor," the red-legged variety. They exist in such swarms that in some places the traveller puts up coveys every few yards. The birds were almost tame in the beginning of the winter, and several were shot from my cook-house in the middle of the village of Kámdesh. The Káfirs shoot them sitting, with their matchlocks. One of their methods of approaching them is to put on a long horned cap and then move slowly along in a stooping position. The birds are supposed to mistake the sportsman for some strange animal, their curiosity is aroused, and they permit him to get near enough to use his matchlock with effect. Another plan I saw adopted at Agatsi was for the shooter to carry in front of him an oblong cloth shield painted over with circles dotted in the middle. Behind this screen he warily stalks a covey. When well within range he fixes the screen on his head by means of a cord, and takes a steady pot shot at the birds. But powder and shot are so valuable that Káfirs comparatively rarely go partridge shooting.

Pheasants. The magnificent manál pheasants are stalked and shot sitting, or are hunted about in the snow by bands of yelling Káfirs, till the birds are exhausted, when they lie up in stone heaps, and are easily surrounded and captured alive.

Bears. Bears are shot with matchlocks or riddled with arrows.

Markhor. Markhor are hunted with dogs, and killed with bows and arrows or matchlocks. In the winter at the lower part of the Bashgul valley, markhor are to be found in very great numbers. From the top of a spur I have watched four sets of hunters with their dogs pursuing markhor simultaneously. They are hunted for food, and the slaughter is often prodigious. In the spring when the animals are on their way up the valley, large numbers are killed behind and above Kámdesh, but the supply seems endless. The largest horns I measured were 47 inches and heavy. In one place in the Katirgul there is a wall of stones and bushes, flanked at each end by square enclosures concealing deep pits. Markhor and wild sheep are driven by a crescent-shaped line of Káfirs across the river and against the wall. The animals dash away right and left into the enclosures, where they fall into the pits and are killed. Hunting markhor with trained dogs is very hard work. The dogs are fine big animals, of a breed for which the Káfirs are renowned. My experience of this form of sport made me ever afterwards confine myself to more legitimate and easier methods.

The dogs were slipped, and we followed as hard as we could over a mile or so of execrable ground, when we came up to the quarry on a difficult shelving rock guarded by three dogs barking furiously. One of them came towards us wagging his tail. The markhor at once dashed away, returning to the place whence we started. We followed, but the pace and the difficult climbing were too much for me. However, I saw one of my companions stealthily approach and shoot the animal at 20 yards. In precisely similar circumstances I have several times seen Káfirs miss at the same distance. I have also known them miss at greater ranges with my express rifle, declare they had killed the markhor in a position whence it could not be recovered, and a few days later relate to me fables about the body having afterwards fallen into the torrent, and having been swept away, from which I gathered that they possessed real sporting instincts, which only require development. Arrows are not much employed in markhor shooting, although they are said to be of great use in killing wounded animals.

DISEASES.

The commonest diseases,

The commonest diseases met with in Káfiristán are fevers, chest complaints, small-pox, and a peculiar ulcerative disease which is apparently not syphilitic. Influenza was epidemic in the winter of 1890-91. Sore eyes are most common, as well as the lid deformities which result from these affections. Rheumatic diseases afflict the aged. Goitre is very prevalent among women. There are also lepers and epileptics. Those complaints which require surgical operations for their cure are tumours, cataracts, and other eye-diseases, and stone in the bladder. Fractures of bones, dagger and other wounds are just as frequently seen as might be expected.

I performed several operations for cataract and other eye-diseases, for stone in the bladder, and for the removal of tumours. I most carefully selected the cases to be operated on, and always did my work in the presence of a large audience. At first the people were astounded at my cures, and used frequently to exclaim "This Frank is indeed a great man," but later on they were much less interested, and finally took everything as a matter of course. They almost resented Gokal Chand's skilful treatment of chronic eye-diseases, arguing that if a man's or woman's eye could be restored to sight by a simple-looking operation, that, therefore, old standing cases of diseased

eyelids ought to be equally quickly cured. They soon learned the value of quinine in periodic fevers, and of iodoform in ulcerative throat diseases. It is not necessary to write much about the complaints which Káfirs suffer from, for they are the same in Káfiristán as elsewhere. Exception must be made in cases of small-pox, ulcerative disease, and goitre.

The ravages of small-pox in Káfiristán are very great, while the mortality among children is extremely high. Large numbers of one-eyed people are met with, and many blind, who owe their misfortunes to small-pox; while one of the most pitiable sequels of that disease is the suppuration of joints. Káfirs are ignorant and careless about infection, and the clothes of a man who has died from small-pox are cleaned in a perfunctory manner, and worn by any other man who has had the disease. Isolation is never practised. Inoculation is the only preventive measure adopted, and although it undoubtedly helps to spread the disease, it is a most useful custom. I have arrived in a village where every single house had an inhabitant suffering from small-pox or undergoing inoculation. A man who understands the method, usually a Mahomedan, is induced to enter the country, and crowds of children are taken to him to be inoculated. Guns are not allowed to be fired in a village where small-pox is raging. In the sick room a big fire is lit, and in the evening friends and neighbours collect and dance in the hope of helping the invalid's recovery in that way. Goats and cows are sacrificed or promised to the gods with a similar object. The fearful atmosphere of the crowded sick room, with its fire, the loathsome effluvium of the sick person, combined with the cooking and feasting, may be imagined. I was never able to face it.

There is a particular form of ulcerative disease prevalent in the Bashgul valley, and in Chitrál also to a less extent. It appears to confine its ravages to the face, mouth, and throat. There is hardly a family which has not one or more of its members afflicted in this way. The cheeks are attacked and the lower eyelids and eyeball eaten into. The nasal bones are prone to become affected and disappear. Often a ghastly hole leads down to the place they occupied. The back of the throat is a common seat of the disease, and the extent to which the ulceration extends without causing death is wonderful. The voice often becomes a raucous whisper. The hard and soft palates are nearly always attacked, and tunnels are bored in all directions. The deformities and scars caused by this terrible complaint are as common as they are hideous. I concluded at first that it was due to syphilis, more especially as it yielded to anti-syphilitic remedies—iodide of potassium, mercury, and iodoform—but I subsequently discovered that primary syphilis is as unknown in Káfiristán as in Chitrál. I imagine this disease is a kind of "rodent ulcer." The hospital assistant at Chitrál informed me on my return from Káfiristán that the complaint is very common in Chitrál, and that he cured it with iodide of iron and cod-liver oil, and used iodoform as a local medicament.

Goitre is a common disease, but is almost exclusively confined to women. I saw only one man suffering from it, and his goitre was of trifling size. Women sometimes have very large goitres, but nothing like the immense tumours to be seen in Chitrál. Before I went to Káfiristán Chitrális declared to me that no Káfir suffered from goitre, because he drank wine, and it is really a fact that it is only those in the Bashgul valley who never drink wine, namely, the women, who are afflicted with goitre. I have thought over the etiology of this curious complaint, but that is the only fact I have noted about it. The Káfir women work in the fields, and the Mehtár's queens do not, but both get goitre. It is the freedom from this disease which the Káfir males enjoy which is so puzzling. They certainly drink a little poor wine, generally with water, but that presumably cannot afford them protection against goitre. They lead a free, open-air life, but so do the Chitrális, who yet have enlarged necks. Bashgul men and women live under the same conditions of life, drink from the same streams, and eat more or less the same kind of food. Why should one sex enjoy an immunity from a disease which is denied to the other, and which is denied to both sexes in the adjacent valley of Chitrál?

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF KAFIRS.

Káfirs have little or no medical knowledge. What little they do know has been learned from their Musselman neighbours. Firing is their remedy for pains of every kind. Some men are scarred all over the body from the use of cautery irons. A headache, a pain in the abdomen, the agony of sciatica or of a wrenched or fractured limb, are all alike treated by firing. They have no knowledge of purgatives. All wounds

Medical
acquirements
of Káfirs.

and sores are treated by being packed up tightly in dirty fragments of half-cured goat-skins. Fractures are bound up carefully with wooden splints, narrow and numerous, but at the slightest sign of pain these are taken off and the cautery iron is applied. I have spent a long time adjusting and "putting up" a fracture, only to find an hour or two later that my excellent bandages and splints have been taken off for a few hours to rest the patient. There is this to be said for the Kafir method, that it cannot possibly cause gangrene of the fractured limb, which I have often seen result from tight bandaging among other ignorant people. Truth compels me also to say that the terrible consequences I foretold to the Kafirs in the way of permanent deformities, if they persisted in disregarding my instructions, only occurred in one or two instances.

I never discovered among the Kafirs any custom of exorcising disease, although I have listened to many fables told me of the magic power and wonderful charms possessed by Mahomedan physicians.

Astronomy.

The Kafirs seem to have little knowledge of, and to take small interest in, the heavenly bodies. One of them, an intelligent man, once instructed me that there are seven heavens rivetted together by the North Star. He said there was another star which performed a similar function, and pointed vaguely to Cassiopea, but was obviously uncertain in his mind where the second rivet was to be found. The Kafirs know the Pleiades, which they call Laruk, and Orion's belt, which they name Turik. The Great Bear they call the "Prusht" (bed), and say that the first star of the tail is the husband, the second the wife, and the third her lover.